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HERODOTUS, GELON, AND PERICLES

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IN ONE of the two funeral orations which he delivered over the graves of the Athenians, Pericles pronounced the famous phrase, "the spring has been taken out of Athens' year." Relating the story of the embassy which the Council of the Allied Greeks is said to have dispatched to Gelon of Syracuse to ask for assistance against Xerxes' invasion, Herodotus used the same expression.¹ Gelon, so Herodotus says, declined to respond to the appeal of the allies since the Athenians refused to grant him the command of the navy, and, commenting on the consequences which in his opinion his refusal was bound to cause, he is credited with the boastful and sarcastic remark that to take out of the Greek army the help of the Syracusan contingents would have been tantamount to taking the spring out of the year of Greece.

The striking similarity between the metaphor of Pericles and the account of Herodotus inevitably raises the question—and it has, in fact, often been raised—of whether there may be a dependence of the one on the other—of Pericles on Herodotus or of Herodotus on Pericles. Did Herodotus actually borrow from Pericles the simile which he put into Gelon's mouth? And, if so, what clue does this passage afford to a better appreciation of Herodotus' historiography, to a more accurate estimate of the chronology, and to a more careful inquiry into the composition of Herodotus' history? My contention is that Herodotus did make Gelon repeat the words which Pericles had uttered in his funeral oration of 440/439 B.C.; that such a quotation

¹ Cf. Herod. vii. 162 (I quote from K. Hude's 3d Oxford ed.): *οὐκ ἂν φθάνοιτε . . . ἀγγέλλοντες τῇ Ἑλλάδι ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τὸ ἔαρ αὐτῇ ἐξαίρηται. [. . . ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ἐστι τὸ ἔαρ δοκιμώτατον, τῆς δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατιῆς τὴν ἐωντοῦ στρατιὴν κτλ.]*

from Pericles is further evidence of the Periclean and pro-Athenian leanings of the historian; and that no similar phrase can have been recorded as Gelon's, since no embassy was dispatched and no appeal for help was sent by the Allied Council in 481/480 B.C. either to the lord of Syracuse or to any other Greek commonwealth of the west.

The first point must be to establish in which of Pericles' funeral orations—that of 440/439 or that of 431/430 B.C.—the phrase is most likely to have been uttered. It has been assumed recently that "there is no means of deciding in which of these two speeches the metaphor preserved by Aristotle [*Rhet.* i. 7. 1365 a 31 ff.; iii. 10. 1411 a 2 ff.] occurred."² Such skepticism is, I venture to think, unjustified; and I propose to restate here briefly the arguments which enable us to revert confidently to the traditional opinion and to maintain that the comparison between the youth killed on the battlefield and the spring taken out of the year actually occurred in one of the most impressive passages of the oration which Pericles delivered over the graves of the Athenians who had fallen in the Samian war.³

Ancient authorities unanimously ascribe to Pericles one funeral speech, and only one, viz., the eulogy on the Athenians who lost their lives in the siege of Samos. Although the speech seems never to have been published, records of it must have been vividly preserved by the biographers of the Athenian statesman and the historians of Attic oratory, and there is little doubt that it exerted a strong influence (however difficult it may be to give instances of it) on the later discourses delivered in praise of Athens or at the graves of her dead. It is noteworthy that it was by quoting some passages of it that authors who were the contemporaries of Pericles and passed upon him a biased and often unfavorable judgment—such as the pamphleteers Ion of Chios and Stesimbrotos of Thasos—expressed their acknowledgment of the striking power of his eloquence.⁴

² So J. E. Powell, *The History of Herodotus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1939), p. 74.

³ The best reconstruction of Pericles' funeral oration is, to my knowledge, L. Weber's essay in *Hermes*, LVII (1922), 375 ff. See also the curious remarks of H. Schulte-Vaerding, *Die Friedenspolitik des Perikles* (München, 1919), pp. 226 ff.

⁴ Cf. Stesimbrotos, Frag. 9 J. (*Frag. Gr. Hist.*, No. 107), *ap.* Plut. *Per.* 8. 9; and Ion, Frag. 7 (Blumenthal), *ap.* Plut. *Per.* 28. 7. Ion is unlikely to have listened to Pericles' oration, for (if Webster's chronology is sound) he was at that time absent from Athens (see n. 6).

It is still more important to remark that, long before Aristotle recorded Pericles as the author of only one funeral oration, namely, the Samian, Plato in one of his earliest dialogues, the *Menexenus* (iv. 236 b), had already expressed himself in the very same terms: τὸν ἐπιτάφιον λόγον, ὃν Περικλῆς εἶπε. And Plato's statement, as the context unmistakably shows, can be referred only to the Samian oration, for Plato aims, whether humorously or in earnest, at connecting the funeral oration which Socrates is made to deliver with Pericles' momentous oration, the latter being here regarded as the work of Aspasia merely because of the literary device, the half-serious and half-burlesque praise of Aspasia which gives to Plato's *Menexenus* its framework and one of its main component elements.

The alleged similarity between the two funeral orations—the one actually delivered by Pericles and the other invented by Plato on grounds of party politics and in order to convey to his readers a message of peace—compelled Plato to lean on the Periclean model as closely as he could. This holds good at least with regard to the general scheme of the discourse, which displays the technique of rhetorical disposition and, in accordance with the more or less obligatory partition of the funeral oration, consists of three main sections: ἐγκώμιον (subdivided into two minor parts: I, εὐγένεια; II, τροφή καὶ παιδεία), παρακλέυσις or λόγος προτρεπτικός, and παραμυθία or λόγος παραμυθητικός [*Menex.* v. 236 e–237 a]). Nor must it have been difficult for Plato to conform to the technicalities unwittingly laid down by Pericles and his forerunners, since the custom of composing funeral eulogies had been established and observed long before Plato resolved to compete with the orators and to write a funeral oration of his own, and since, moreover, the main lines of Pericles' oration must have been well remembered and probably preserved in the writings of some of his critics or biographers. Otherwise, how could Pericles' metaphor have been so often elaborated and even attributed to later and lesser orators, such as, e.g., Demades?⁵

Now the fragments of Pericles' oration (including the one we are at present discussing) enable us to reconstruct it in its entirety and prove that, in accordance with Plato's statement, Pericles did, in fact, adhere to the customary scheme, whereas this is openly disregarded

⁵ Cf. Treves, *Athenaeum*, XI (1933), 108–9.

in the speech which Thucydides puts in his mouth. This is, I think, sufficient reason for us to discard the hypothesis that Plato, when referring to Pericles' funeral oration, intended to allude to that of 431/430. If we analyze the *epitaphios* of Thucydides in conformity with the principles of rhetorical technique and attempt to determine how far Pericles is made to respect them, we see at once that, unlike most of the authors of eulogies on Athens, whether discourses actually delivered or rhetorical pamphlets composed merely as a literary exercise or as an imitation of public speeches, Thucydides—unlike Isocrates, Aelius Aristides, or the author of the Pseudo-De-mosthenic *epitaphios*—consciously broke with the traditional scheme.

The Thucydidean Pericles is made to speak as the historian wanted him to and to say what he deemed it important to make him say when, after the downfall of Athens, he came to write the *epitaphios*. The fact that Pericles had spoken over the graves of the Athenians in 431/430 gave Thucydides the welcome opportunity of putting into the mouth of the leader, whose policy and statesmanship he regarded as the best guaranty of victory, a eulogy on Athens of which the aim was twofold. Not only did he celebrate, after the catastrophe of 404 B.C., the immortal greatness of Athens' achievements, although by means of a comparison between the two rival cities that was utterly misplaced in a funeral oration, but he conveyed a message of hope to all true friends of Athens, in so far as he showed how the principles of life and civilization which she had created and spread throughout the Greek world were destined to survive the disaster that had fallen upon her.

Thucydides refrains from indulging in the customary praise of the ancestors (ii. 36. 1–4) and concentrates upon the constitution of his country, summarizing in this section the traditional eulogy on *εὐγένεια καὶ τροφή* (ii. 37–41) and only very briefly, in the following chapters, touching on the *λόγος προτρεπτικός* and the *λόγος παραμυθητικός*. Further, he displays the strongest disbelief in the authority of Homer, to whom the Greeks generally used to appeal for a confirmation of their claims, exploits, or pretensions: *οὐδὲν προσδεόμενοι . . . Ὅμηρον ἐπαινέτου* (ii. 41. 4); while the author of the Samian *epitaphios* had recalled the memories of the Trojan War to boast, in a bold statement which seems to have struck Ion, of the superiority of his fellow-

Athenians to the army of Agamemnon, which had spent ten years in capturing one barbarian town.⁶

Plato's *Menexenus* betrays several echoes and recollections of Thucydides,⁷ and it is, in point of fact, only natural that, for a discourse on the history of Athens and the political situation of his time, Plato should draw, and did draw, on the most eloquent and complete survey of the tendencies and ideologies that had prevailed during the last two decades of the fifth century. Plato's dependence on Thucydides is all the more likely, since the interval of time between the posthumous publication of the history of Thucydides and the publication of the *Menexenus* seems to have been a short one. The history of the Peloponnesian War was already familiar to the readers of Isocrates' *Περὶ τοῦ ζεύγους*; that is to say, it must have been published ca. 397 B.C. Plato's *Menexenus* was issued not later than ca. 391/390, and the influence of Thucydides is also traceable in another of the philosopher's early dialogues, the *Gorgias*, which its covert allusions to the pamphlet of Polycrates, its bitterness against the new imperialistic policy of the Athenian democracy, and other reasons prove to have been written and published ca. 393/392.⁸

Now, if Plato was conscious of the similarity, at least in scheme, style, and technique, between Pericles' funeral oration and his own and if, on the other hand, he drew on Thucydides (and certainly he did not overlook the *epitaphios*), then he must also have been conscious of the difference between Pericles' real oration of 439 and the fictitious one of 431/430, and his allusions to "the" funeral oration of Pericles must necessarily be referred to the oration of 439. This argument is, I think, decisive both to refute the opinion of those who feel inclined to believe that Thucydides actually and, on the whole, ac-

⁶ Besides Grote's curious remarks (*Hist. of Greece* [London: Murray, 1862], IV, 171), cf. Weber, *op. cit.*, pp. 382-83; Webster, *Hermes*, LXXI (1936), 264 f.

⁷ In spite of Wilamowitz' dictum (*Platon*, II², 127), and G. Rohr's ingenious remarks (*Platons Stellung zur Gesch.* [Berlin: Junker & Dünhaupt, 1932], pp. 117 ff.), I still believe that M. Pohlenz (*Platos Werdezeit* [1913], pp. 247 ff.) was right in maintaining Plato's dependence on Thucydides both in the *Menexenus* and in his later exposures of the Athenian democracy.

⁸ Cf. Treves, *Riv. fil.*, N.S., XV (1937), 117 ff., 135 ff. For the influence of Thucydides on the ideologies and the political pamphlets of the first two decades of the fourth century B.C., especially on Isocrates' early writings, see L. Bodin, *Mélanges Glotz* (1932), I, 93 ff.

curately reproduced Pericles' speech of 431/430⁹ and to remove any uncertainty as to the date of the speech which Plato and (probably following him) Aristotle recorded as *ὁ ἐπιτάφιος*.

On another ground the comparison of the youth and the spring has often been attributed to the oration of 439.¹⁰ It would have been pointless if the Athenians had not sustained heavy losses in the war. The hardships of the punitive expedition against Samos are vividly recounted by Thucydides (i. 115.2–117), whose narrative implies that, to check the rebellion, the Athenians became involved in a major war; whereas he bears witness elsewhere (ii. 22. 1–2) to the very few casualties that, thanks to Pericles' strategy, were inflicted on Athens during the first campaign of the Peloponnesian War.

This renewed investigation into the evidence for Pericles' *epitaphios* helps to dispel any too optimistic belief in the credibility and objective truthfulness of the speeches which Thucydides puts in the mouth of his characters and also confirms the belief that the metaphor quoted by Aristotle and often imitated in later times occurred in Pericles' funeral oration of 439 B.C. As it was during that decade—roughly between the rebellion of Samos and the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War—that Herodotus proceeded to change the plan of his history, to recast his narrative, and to elaborate and complete the story of the Persian Wars, it is a priori most likely that, when he puts the very same simile (although far less appropriately) in Gelon's mouth (vii. 162), he is actually borrowing from Pericles.

All this was seen long ago.¹¹ Nevertheless, Herodotus' dependence

* A typical example is afforded by A. W. Gomme's treatment of the *epitaphios* (*Essays in Greek History and Literature* [1937], pp. 187 ff.), whose assumption that "Thucydides will have heard it and have made notes of it" is tantamount to saying that in 431/430 B.C. Thucydides had already planned to write the history of the Peloponnesian War viewed from the angle of the *epitaphios*, and that an oligarch, such as Thucydides then undoubtedly was, agreed, as early as 431/430, with Pericles' outspoken praise of the empire of Athens. Still less should one accept M. Delcourt's arguments in her book on *Périclès* ([Paris: Gallimard, 1939], pp. 230 ff.).

¹⁰ So, e.g., Weber, *op. cit.*, p. 387.

¹¹ The similarity was first pointed out by A. Kirchhoff, *Abhandl. preuss. Akad.*, 1868, pp. 20–21. He was followed by N. Wecklein, *Sitzungsber. bayer. Akad., phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1876, p. 248. Kirchhoff had connected the simile with Pericles' funeral oration of 431/430, but Wilamowitz (*Hermes*, XII [1877], 365) showed that the reference must be to Pericles' funeral oration of 439, and his conclusions were accepted by Kirchhoff himself in the second edition of his pamphlet (*Die Entstehungszeit d. Herodot. Geschichtswerkes* [Berlin, 1878], p. 19), and by Eduard Meyer (*Forsch. zur alten Geschichte*, II [1899], 221–22); F. Jacoby (P.-W., Supplementband II, col. 231); Weber (*op. cit.*, p. 375); etc.

on Pericles has often been questioned.¹² It has been assumed that Gelon's remark is authentic, viz., that it is a *mot* which the lord of Syracuse did, in fact, utter in his reply to the Athenian envoy or that both Gelon and Pericles drew on a common source (the latter being either a popular saying¹³ or the line of a poet otherwise lost and unknown to us).¹⁴ Besides, it has been maintained that the commentary on Gelon's words must be regarded as an interpolation¹⁵—a fact which, even if it were established, would in no case reduce the significance of the passage, since the explanatory words appended to Gelon's phrase, whether authentic or interpolated, prove, if anything, that the comparison justly seemed so far fetched and obscure that it was thought unlikely that most of the readers of Herodotus would be able to catch the meaning of it. All, on the contrary, at once becomes perfectly clear, if we assume not only that Herodotus did borrow from Pericles but that he is commenting upon his quotation in order to emphasize his indebtedness and the appropriateness of the remark which he is citing.

To disprove this conjecture, one of the ablest and most ingenious critics of Herodotus has emphatically asserted that the explanatory "words . . . are proven interpolated . . . because the language is that of a scholiast (*ὁ νόος τοῦ ῥήματος* and *δῆλα γάρ*¹⁶). I should, on the contrary, maintain that the words thus singled out are perfectly in keeping with the manner of quoting customary in antiquity, and that they are therefore to be considered as a citation deliberately inserted in the context by Herodotus himself.

When they quoted, and on whatever ground they did so, ancient writers used to comment on the author to whom they were alluding. I need not recall that skilful device, the practice of which is so fre-

¹² Cf., besides the works quoted in the following notes, L. Pareti, *Studi siciliani ed italiani* (Firenze, 1920), p. 119; M. Pohlenz, *Herodot* ("Neue Wege z. Antike," II, 7-8 [Leipzig, 1937]), 117, n. 1.

¹³ So P. Girard (*Rev. étud. grecques*, XXXII [1919], 232-33) and more recently Delcourt (*op. cit.*, p. 134: "C'était là un simple dicton, mais qu'il a dû employer dans un sens nouveau, sinon ses contemporains n'en eussent pas été frappés").

¹⁴ So H. Stein, in his commentary on *Hdt.* vii. 162.

¹⁵ That the passage is interpolated has been surmised, after Wesseling's deletion, by such editors of Herodotus as Kallenberg, Macan, and Hude, by How and Wells in their commentary, and by Powell (see n. 16). The authenticity of it has, on the contrary, been assumed by Stein, Girard, and Pohlenz (see above) and by W. Aly (*Volksmärchen, Sage u. Novelle bei Hdt.* [Göttingen, 1921], pp. 179-80).

¹⁶ So Powell, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

quently attested by Hellenistic and Roman poets from Callimachus to Virgil, Horace, and later poets (although it was already common in the Athenian literature of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.) and which consisted in the writers' paying a compliment to some of their literary colleagues by means of a more or less appropriate adaptation of a passage from one of their poems or prose writings. So widespread was this custom that it gave birth to a new form of poetry, examples of which can be found especially in the Augustan imitations of Alexandrine poets.¹⁷ The desire to comment upon the works they were alluding to or the passages they were quoting from often constrained the poets to express themselves by means of clumsy circumlocutions or to display an awkwardness of style that may well be compared with the heavy sentence appended to explain Gelon's saying.

Thus, whether he was borrowing from Pericles or quoting the line of a poet, Herodotus, in accordance with a literary custom which began to be observed by the authors of his age, must have made it clear to his readers that he was actually drawing on a source, even if disregard of this convention might have saved him from "spoiling a point," as Powell rightly remarks, "by explaining it." Nor does the "alternative hypothesis of a common source," in which Powell seems ultimately inclined to believe, lead us any further, since it would have been very strange indeed if Pericles had been unanimously credited with, and praised for, a metaphor which he had, *ex hypothesi*, borrowed from a poet and if his contemporaries were, on the other hand, familiar enough with his source to recognize the quotation or at least to draw, independently of him, on the very same authority on which his saying rested. It sounds utterly incredible that the readers of Herodotus, when they came across the metaphor only a few years after Pericles had used it in his funeral oration,¹⁸ would without diffi-

¹⁷ This type of poetry German philologists are wont to call "Kataloggedicht" or rather "Katalogdichtung." It has been, if not (strictly speaking) discovered, at least particularly treated and rightly emphasized by F. Skutsch (*Aus Vergils Frühzeit* [Leipzig: Teubner, 1901], pp. 50 ff.); see also G. Jachmann, *Hermes*, LVIII (1923), 299 ff.

¹⁸ All we know of the approximate chronology of the composition of Herodotus' history rules out the possibility of the inverse procedure, namely, that Pericles borrowed, one way or another, from Herodotus, whether from one of the lectures which he is most likely to have delivered at Athens or from his published book—and this independently of the results of the present study on Herodotus vii. 162. Still less acceptable is Wells's theory (*Class. Phil.*, XXIII [1928], 327–28), which actually involves a double mistake—that Pericles borrowed Gelon's saying from Herodotus to quote it in his funeral oration of 431/430.

culty distinguish between the two authors and detect the common and equal indebtedness of the orator and the historian.

Nor is it any more credible that Herodotus permitted himself a quotation for which no reason is apparent, without respecting the rule that references should be appended to the context on a particular and often evident ground (the most common being to pay homage to the author who is alluded to) or should in one way or another be clearly singled out as quotations. Why should Herodotus have behaved unlike his friend Sophocles, whose frequent allusions to passages from the *Histories* are almost always intentional?¹⁹ Apart from a couple of passages which must be regarded as mere reminiscences, for they occur in plays written long after the death of Herodotus and the publication of his work,²⁰ most of the Sophoclean references to Herodotus—for instance, the sentence which he recast into the opening lines of the *Trachiniae* and the final sentence of the *Oedipus*

¹⁹ The subject has been dealt with exhaustively by J. Rasch in *Soph. quid debeat Hdt.* ("Comm. phil. Jen.," X, 2 [1913]). See also Jacoby, *op. cit.*, cols. 232 ff.; G. Perrotta, *Sofocle* (1935), pp. 24 ff., 119 ff.; and Powell, *op. cit.*, p. 34. A full list of corresponding passages is given by W. Schmid (*Griech. Lit.-Gesch.*, I, 2 [1934], 318, n. 3).

Since the above remarks on Sophocles' indebtedness to Herodotus and on the dependence of Antigone's last speech (ll. 904 ff.) on the story of the wife of Intaphernes (Hdt. iii. 119) were written and after my paper had already gone to the printer, I came across Gilbert Murray's recent translation of the *Antigone* (London, 1941), in the notes to which (pp. 89-90) he makes a noteworthy attempt at showing again that these lines are to be rejected as an interpolation. That they are (to quote Croce's dictum) an interpolation made by the poet himself is indisputable. But it seems, on the contrary, extremely disputable whether D. L. Page (*Actors' Interpolations in Greek Tragedy* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934], pp. 86 ff.) and Professor Murray (who expressly refers to Page's treatment of the passage) can be said to be right in assuming that these lines are an actual interpolation, viz., a histrionic one, and must therefore be rejected as spurious. In my opinion, before such a verdict is accepted, two points must be proved, namely, first that an actor's interpolation is likely to have passed unnoticed even by learned readers such as Aristotle, to whom the passage seems to have appealed and who in any case quotes it (*Rhet.* iii.16.9) without hinting at the slightest disbelief in its genuineness; and, second, that, since this passage must necessarily be regarded as an adaptation of Herodotus (iii.119), it is easier to attribute such a reminiscence to a later actor than to Sophocles, who is known to have been a friend, admirer, and imitator of the historian. And in point of fact I feel it impossible to admit that an actor, whom Page (*op. cit.*, p. 90) would like to date "early in the fourth century," would have inserted a paraphrase of a Herodotean story into the text of the *Antigone* at a time when interest in and familiarity with Herodotus were rapidly dwindling.

²⁰ Cf., e.g., *Phil.* 1207—Hdt. vi. 75 (according to Powell, *op. cit.*, p. 34, n. 2) and *Oed. Col.* 337 ff.—Hdt. ii. 35. I quote only from those plays of Sophocles whose date is certain.

Tyrannus—are marked out as references by some devices of style, by the use of some characteristic words, or by some peculiarities of language. Nor did the poet refrain from spoiling what is, indeed, one of the most striking passages of the *Antigone* (ll. 904 ff.) by putting into the heroine's mouth a clumsy, sophisticated, and unsuited adaptation of the Herodotean story of the wife of Intaphernes (iii. 119), in order to allude to a passage from his friend's lectures which must have made a very strong impression on his Athenian audience and with which they were undoubtedly familiar when the *Antigone* was produced (441 B.C.).

Just as Sophocles spoiled the story of the wife of Intaphernes by making Antigone recall it in her plight and in her meaningless effort to justify her deed (the point being here missed, since none of Antigone's brothers is alive and her preference is therefore logically absurd) or Solon's dictum by putting it into the mouth of Dejanira, so Herodotus may well have spoiled the saying of Pericles by putting it into the mouth of Gelon and have appended to it a clumsy sentence of comment.

So far our conclusion is that this passage of Herodotus must be a quotation²¹ and that objections based solely on the impressions of modern sensibility or appraisements suggested by subjective standards of taste must be unhesitatingly rejected, as they are flatly contradicted by all we know of the literary customs and conventions of ancient writing. It is therefore idle to discard the assumption that Herodotus is here quoting Pericles on the ground that he would have displayed an "incredibly bad taste"²² if he had attributed to the tyrant of Syracuse, some forty years before Pericles' funeral oration was delivered, a metaphor which did actually occur in the latter's oration. Several instances—from Sophocles, and even before him, down to Virgil and Horace—may easily be collected to prove the contrary. Such allusions, however clumsy they may seem to us (for we cannot conceive of a poet's spoiling his lines in order to insert references to some of his colleagues), were regarded as a mark of refinement and appreciated accordingly.

²¹ This conclusion has been especially advocated by Jacoby (*op. cit.*, col. 235); Aly (*op. cit.*, p. 179); and De Sanctis (*Riv. fil.*, N.S., XIII [1935], 519).

²² So J. Wells, *Studies in Hdt.* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1923), p. 201. A similar explanation had already been propounded by Girard (*op. cit.*, pp. 234 ff.).

With his customary candor and critical insight Macan, although he personally favored the deletion of the appended explanatory sentence as a "*scholium manifestum*," made the acute remark that deletion "makes practically no difference to the problem of the authorship and application of the *mot.*"²³ Since the saying is a quotation, if it is not a quotation from Pericles it must be a quotation from Gelon. In other words, if Herodotus did not attribute to Gelon the dictum of Pericles, he must have known that, in point of fact, Gelon had made use of it in his rejoinder to the Athenian envoy, or he must have drawn on a written source in which Gelon was credited with the authorship of the simile. These assumptions would lead us to admit both the credibility of Gelon's debate with the Greek ambassadors and the existence of a written tradition on the appeal made to the western Greeks by the congress which was summoned on the Isthmus in the autumn of 481 B.C. Such a conclusion is groundless, for the whole Herodotean narrative is clearly proved to be a late and tendentious invention, faked for propaganda purposes by the pro-Athenian historian.

No evidence, as far as I know, has hitherto been produced, nor is any likely to be produced, to show that for the sections of his history dealing with western Greek affairs Herodotus drew on written authorities. Whatever the influence that his sojourn in the west may have exerted on the composition of his book, Herodotus seems to have worked almost exclusively with oral tradition, that is with accounts which were related as folk tales or invented to suit the aims and purposes of political propaganda. This suffices to rule out the possibility that Herodotus came across a source in which the lord of Syracuse was made to use the metaphor of the spring taken out of the year of Greece.

As it stands,²⁴ the story is not only utterly incredible but absolutely impossible and fantastic. It cannot be true, because it openly disregards the most elementary principles of diplomacy and political psy-

²³ Cf. his commentary on Hdt. vii. 162.

²⁴ A. Defner ("Die Rede bei Hdt." [diss., München, 1933], pp. 47-48, 81 ff.) and K. Wuest (*Politisches Denken bei Hdt.* [diss., München; Würzburg: Triltsch, 1935], pp. 70-71) have carefully investigated the component elements and the rhetorical structure of Herodotus' account but have failed to notice its worthlessness and have not even expressed the slightest disbelief in its historical credibility.

chology; it is historically worthless, for it is vitiated by the anachronism of regarding Athens' naval hegemony as already firmly established before the day of Salamis (Hdt. vii. 161. 2); it is not original, for it betrays not only an evident bias against Gelon, apparently justified by his refusal to come to the assistance of his fellow-Greeks, but also the intention of abusing him by portraying him both as a tyrant and as a traitor to the common cause. Further, it is couched in terms manifestly borrowed from eulogies on Athens and Sparta. In fine, the story is acceptable only on the premise that a Greek embassy was in fact dispatched to Sicily. Should it be proved that no application for help was addressed to Gelon, the Herodotean account would have to be classed with partisan forgeries.

Macan admitted long ago that "one might be tempted to dismiss the whole story of such an application," but he refrained from rejecting it himself, for, in his opinion, "the fact that one ship from *Magna Graecia* did actually take part in the battle of Salamis confirms the traditional fact of the despatch of the embassy . . . to the Greeks of Italy and Sicily."²⁵ Strangely enough, the evidence which Macan produced to support the credibility of the tradition clearly proves the contrary. Both in Herodotus and in the authorities other than Herodotus there is not even the slightest proof that such an appeal was ever made to the colonial cities of Sicily and *Magna Graecia*.

In a passage for which he in all likelihood drew on written sources²⁶—on something like a catalogue of the allied forces that took part in the battle of Salamis—Herodotus categorically disproves that an embassy was actually dispatched to the western Greeks, for he states that no commonwealth west of Thesprotia, Leucas, and Ambracia succored the peninsula in its hour of need, with the single exception of Croton.

It would be, however, incomprehensible that so powerful a community as Croton should have responded to the appeal of Greece by sending only one ship, and it would also be incomprehensible that Herodotus, who in his catalogue omits any mention of the com-

²⁵ Macan, *Hdt. Books vii-ix*, II (1908), 226.

²⁶ On Hdt. viii. 42 ff.; see Pohlenz, *Hdt.*, p. 187, n. 1. Paus. x. 9. 2 and Plut., *Alex.* 34.3 are decisive evidence for Phayllus' participation in a private capacity. Other authorities are quoted by H. E. Stier, P.-W., Vol. XIX, col. 1903.

manders of the allied contingents, should depart from his habit only in the particular case of the Crotonian trireme and record that she was commanded by Phayllus, were not an entirely satisfactory explanation provided by our authorities other than Herodotus (and presupposed by Herodotus' reference, which is in itself a mark of honor, to the ἀνὴρ τρις πυθιονίκης Φάλλος). Indeed, the reason for the different treatment of Phayllus and the unnamed Greek commanders is that, while the latter were merely captains of ships and crews supplied by the state (although the normal Hellenic procedure was that the citizens had to see personally to the provision and arming of the warships of their country), Phayllus, being by chance in Greece when the Persian invasion occurred, had furnished a trireme from his own means and enlisted, as members of the crew, as many of his fellow-citizens as he could find among the Crotonians, who, like him, happened to be in Greece at that time.

That the name of Phayllus was subsequently included in the list of the defenders of Greece, that the memory of his exploit at Salamis was preserved, and that he came to be regarded as the representative of his country, whose presence was symbolically attested and accounted for by the participation in the struggle of Phayllus' ship, is obvious and is confirmed by the fact that Alexander the Great, wishing Croton to have her share in his crusade of revenge on Persia, in which military contingents of the Greek commonwealths once attacked by Xerxes were made to play a leading role but from which Croton was absent, sent her after the capture of Babylon²⁷ her part of the booty, as if to pay homage to Phayllus' native town and to recognize her claims to the victory which the descendants of the warriors of Salamis had, under his leadership, triumphantly attained.

But Phayllus himself did not hesitate to regard his participation in the Greek war as the private action of an individual, from which praise and repute might redound to his country but for which Croton was not responsible. This consciousness is shown (possibly) by the inscription of the statue which Phayllus dedicated at Delphi and (certainly) by the votive epigram which accompanied Phayllus' dedications on the Athenian Acropolis and which, while it duly recalls his

²⁷ Cf. U. Wilcken, *Alexander* (Eng. trans., 1932), p. 138; G. Radet, *Alexandre le Grand* (1931), p. 142.

exploits at Salamis, purposely refrains from mentioning any contribution of Croton to the cause of the allies.²⁸

The story of Phayllus suffices to prove that no western Greek commonwealth was recorded as having shared in the struggle against Xerxes or as having been asked for assistance. Herodotus, notwithstanding occasional—nay, frequent—allusions to events of southern Italy and Sicily, appears to have failed to notice any political connection between the mother-country and her western colonies or dependencies. Moreover, he goes as far as to supply evidence for the good relations existing between the western Greeks and Persia.²⁹ The detailed story of Democedes, which in all likelihood Herodotus expanded during his stay at Thurii,³⁰ however worthless its content may be, is a unique witness to the historian's political outlook and mentality.³¹ Apparently, Herodotus believed, or expected his readers to believe—as though this were quite a normal fact—that a Greek from Croton had advised King Darius, when there were still no proofs or traces of Hellenic animosity toward Persia, to attack Greece and had even prepared the way for the invasion of the peninsula. Nor did Gelon refrain, as Herodotus also relates, from securing the help of two former vassals of the Great King, Scythes and Cadmus, whose relations with Xerxes were still so good as to enable them to act as useful mediators between the tyrant of Syracuse and the expected conqueror of Greece.

If we bear in mind the widespread "Medism" of Magna Graecia and the lack of political connection between the colonies and the mother-country until, roughly, the middle of the fifth century B.C. in spite of some isolated events, such as the Sicilian adventure of the Spartan prince Dorieus, we may confidently reject as unhistorical the tradition of the Greek appeal to Gelon. This conclusion is supported by two arguments. First, as is unanimously recognized and confirmed

²⁸ The last edition of the epigram is by F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *Hist. griech. Epigramme* (1926), No. 25, p. 11. See, further, H. Pomtow, on *Syll.*³, I, No. 30; and A. Hauvette, *Rev. étud. grecques*, XII (1899), 16 ff.

²⁹ Cf. E. Ciaceri, *Studi stor. ant. class.*, V (1912), 1 ff.; *Storia della Magna Grecia*, II (1927), 199 f., 342 ff.

³⁰ See Hdt. iii. 133 ff., and cf. Powell, *op. cit.*, pp. 50–52, 67.

³¹ I refer in this connection to the ingenious and acute, but obviously exaggerated, observations of E. Howald, *Hermes*, LVIII (1923), 113 ff.

by any new investigation into any detail whatever,³² Herodotus' account of the debate at Syracuse is worthless—for, above all, it ought to have been clear from the beginning that, if the allies wished for Gelon's assistance, they must have been prepared to pay for it the price which he would have demanded of them, just as, when Miltiades tried to secure the help of Sparta, he had to submit to the preliminary condition that Athens should become a member of the Peloponnesian confederacy.³³

In the second place—and this point is, I venture to think, decisive also against the assumption that Herodotus can have drawn on a written source—the historical tradition of the Persian Wars is as a whole solely and entirely dependent upon Herodotus, and, while unanimously recording one diplomatic *démarche* of the Greek Council—viz., their attempt to secure the assistance of Gelon—it knows of no appeal to any western community other than Syracuse and does not even mention Croton. On the other hand, it was merely on the basis of Herodotus' narrative that the numerous, somewhat different yet

³² Equally groundless is the appended story of Cadmus' mission to Greece (Hdt. vii. 163–64; cf. *Frag. Gr. Hist.*, No. 105, frag. 3, ll. 15 ff. = *Oxy. Pap.*, VI, No. 857, ll. 15 ff., and H. W. Parke, *A History of the Delphic Oracle* [1939], pp. 180–81), which must also be unhesitatingly rejected. For it is hopelessly contradictory. In fact, if Cadmus was sent to Delphi to make friends with Xerxes in case the king should prove victorious, one wonders how he managed to return to Syracuse undisturbed, and with his treasure untouched, after Xerxes' defeat and withdrawal. In either case he must have lost Gelon's gold to Xerxes, when Delphi was captured by, or capitulated to, the Persians (unless the priests were allowed to preserve the properties of their god) or to the allies, once victory was won and the Medizing commonwealths were duly punished. The story must have arisen both as a justification of Gelon's behavior (although it was later employed, as in the Herodotean version, for the very opposite purpose) and in consequence of Gelon's subsequent relations and offerings to the god of Delphi. It probably circulated independently of the story of the allies' appeal to Gelon, and it was in all likelihood Herodotus who linked the two accounts, with the final result that the tradition on Gelon and the Greeks became still more confused and obscure.

³³ Cf. De Sanctis (*Riv. fil.*, N.S., VIII [1930], 297–98 and *Storia dei Greci*, II [Firenze: La nuova Italia, 1939], 19–20), whose contention was not invalidated by H. Bengtson's criticism ("Einzelpersönlichkeit u. athenischer Staat zur Zeit d. Peisistratos u.d. Miltiades, *Sitzungsber. bayer. Akad., phil.-hist. Abt.*, 1939, Heft 1, p. 48).

The theory of Athens' accession to, and membership in, the Peloponnesian Confederacy has again been criticized recently by J. A. O. Larsen, in *Harvard Stud. Class. Phil.*, LI (1940), 180, n. 3. But the arguments which he puts forth are not, in my opinion, irrefutable. In point of fact, whatever the technicalities and the juridical formalities of Athens' adherence to the Peloponnesian League, the soundness of the brief remarks which Thucydides devotes to it (i. 102. 4) need not be questioned; nor is it disputable that the alliance was actually made *ἐν τῇ Μήδῳ*. Thucydides is not concerned with de-

fundamentally similar, versions were elaborated. The end which these adaptations aimed at was twofold: first, they intended to point out a causal connection between the Persian invasion of Greece and the Carthaginian invasion of Sicily; second, they attempted the white-washing of Gelon by emphasizing his willingness to contribute to the liberation of the mother-country both when he received an appeal for help and was hindered in responding to it by the menace which he had to face and after he had crushed the common enemy at Himera, although the victory of Salamis soon absolved him from intervening.

Now the most detailed narrative of the Sicilian campaign that is still extant, namely, the account of Diodorus, certainly underwent a heavy process of elaboration at the hands of so learned a local historian as Timaeus is rightly reputed to have been.³⁴ If Timaeus sought in Antiochus and Philistus for new evidence from Sicilian sources to supplement the Greek tradition of Herodotus and Ephorus—and there is little doubt that this was the practice of Timaeus, as is shown by the analysis of the Sicilian sections of Diodorus—if he sought and did not find it, then the inevitable conclusion is that no Sicilian tradition existed, independently of Herodotus, on the Greek appeal to Gelon. The ancients themselves, by recasting the Herodotean narrative extensively, seem to have expressed their disbelief in it. They seem to have realized, as we have, that it has no historical value.

tails but solely with the evident aim and scope of Athens' policy when she decided to take the momentous step of joining the Peloponnesian League. Nor, on the other hand, is the language which Thucydides employs hard to reconcile, as Larsen seems to think, "with an alliance formed as early as 491." Whatever the precise date of Athens' accession to the Peloponnesian League, there is little doubt that the leaders of her policy (especially Miltiades, who had himself experienced the wrath, violence, and vengeance of the Persians) were gravely concerned lest they should be taken unawares by a Persian attack, which they expected as a punitive expedition against Athens and as retaliatory measure for the support she had granted to the rebellious Ionian towns. Nor was there any other way of forestalling the Persian aggression than by appealing for membership in the Peloponnesian Confederacy. Such an appeal ought to be surmised as a self-evident fact, even if it were not otherwise attested. If they had not reckoned with the certainty of the Spartan help, how could the Athenians have dared to resist the Persian invasion?

³⁴ On Timaeus' account see R. Laqueur, P.-W., Vol. VI A, cols. 1085 ff. The different elaborations of the Herodotean version of the appeal to Gelon, the Carthaginian invasion, and the battle of Himera have been carefully investigated by L. Pareti, *op. cit.*, pp. 121 ff.

Since he relied on no written authority, Herodotus must, then, be held responsible for the story of the interview between Gelon and the Greek envoys—a story whose essential feature, namely, the very fact of the appeal to the lord of Syracuse, has been almost unanimously accepted by modern historians,³⁵ although even this must now be rejected. Since the Herodotean authorship of the episode can no longer be disputed, we must at this point, before we proceed to ask why Herodotus constructed this story and on what grounds he invented the speeches which Gelon and the ambassadors are made to deliver, conclude that Herodotus did, in fact, borrow from Pericles' funeral oration the phrase which he put in Gelon's mouth and that he therefore cannot possibly have drafted this section of the history (which, as we shall see presently, cannot be separated from others of similar content) prior to 439/438 B.C. Whether Herodotus listened to Pericles' oration himself or heard of it from some of his Athenian informers is a minor detail which does not matter much. It is far too bold and, indeed, illegitimate to infer from Herodotus' quotation of Pericles that by 439 B.C. he had already returned for good from Thurii to Athens.³⁶ But it is an inescapable consequence, which necessarily follows from any critical treatment of the passage, that not only did Herodotus insert a reference to Pericles into a context which was not suited to it, in order to pay homage to the leading statesman of Athens, but, furthermore, that he shaped his account in such a way as to give further evidence of his sympathy for the policy of Pericles and his program of imperialistic, though democratic, expansion in the Greek districts of the west.

Interest in these grew soon after the victory, and it was Gelon himself who involuntarily caused the Greeks of the peninsula to turn their aims and thoughts toward the island to the deliverance of which from the grip of Carthage he had contributed so valiantly. The smaller the part he had played in the struggle against Xerxes (with whom he had even attempted to make friends), the more did he endeavor to emphasize the greatness of his successes at Himera and to

³⁵ The only exception I know of is De Sanctis, *Problemi di storia antica* (Bari: Laterza, 1932), pp. 17–18.

³⁶ This conjecture of Meyer (*op. cit.*, II, 222) was rejected (rightly, I believe) by Jacoby (*op. cit.*, col. 243). See also the contradictory statements of Weber, *Hermes*, LVII (1922), 382, and Solon u.d. *Schöpfung d. att. Grabrede* (Frankfurt, 1935), p. 53, n. 1.

connect them with the major victories of Salamis and Plataea. His dedications at the shrines of Greece and the poems which he had Simonides and Pindar compose to praise him as much as the heroes of the Persian Wars aimed at establishing a sort of ideal parallel between the two simultaneous expeditions of Hamilcar and Xerxes³⁷ and provided the scanty evidence on which a century and a half later Ephorus was called on to build, and to bequeath to his successors, the groundless story of a compact between Persia and Carthage for a joint attack on Hellenism both in the east and in the west. Ephorus' version did not arise out of an independent Sicilian tradition,³⁸ of which Herodotus would have been inexplicably ignorant, much as he knows of the Sicilian claim that Himera and Salamis were fought simultaneously. On the contrary, it was the ultimate development of a long process of embellishment, which the propaganda engineered by Gelon both in Greece and in Sicily underwent, to justify the tyrant's pretense to a share in the glory of having beaten back the barbarians.

Of Gelon's Panhellenic deeds the Greeks of the peninsula knew as much as was attested by his offerings. Besides, they knew that he had not come to their assistance and they might therefore feel inclined to disbelieve in the magnitude of his achievements at Himera and in the parallel, which it pleased him to draw, between his victory and theirs. Why had Gelon sent no help to them? The truth was that neither had they asked him nor had he even thought of sending any. But this explanation could not be resorted to, for it would have been tantamount to a denial of Gelon's pretensions. Once Syracuse had become one of the greatest among the Greek states, once she had begun to play an important role in the political life and speculation of Greece (and, with her, Gelon and his dynasty, to whom her aggrandizement was chiefly due), she must inevitably be dragged into the story of the Persian invasion.

To investigate the part that Gelon had taken in Xerxes' war became a frequent subject for propaganda *pro et contra*. And two conflicting versions circulated, both of which Herodotus reported in his history, in accordance with his custom of juxtaposing contradictory state-

³⁷ Cf. Pareti, *op. cit.*, pp. 113 ff.; Ciaceri, *Storia della Magna Grecia*, II, 311.

³⁸ So G. Glotz, *Hist. gr.*, II, 45, n. 13; *Mélanges Iorga* (Paris, 1933), p. 338.

ments when it might have been awkward to make a choice between them and of expressing himself noncommittally. Yet, while he relates the debate at Syracuse "without any *caveat*," "he discounts the importance of the events in Sicily and even hints at disbelief in them."³⁹ One version, which Gelon himself undoubtedly took care to spread, stated that, much as he would have liked to assist his fellow-Greeks in distress, he had been prevented from doing so by an unexpected Carthaginian attack. The other version related that the conversation at Syracuse had broken off on the controversial point of hegemony and that Gelon had not only made the issue dependent on conditions that were clearly incompatible with the dignity and national honor of Athens but had behaved like a tyrant and prophesied the imminent defeat of the allies, merely because they had not succeeded in securing his help.

This tradition, which has sometimes been regarded as the original one—namely, that which Herodotus had elaborated before he visited the west and to which he then appended the whitewashing Sicilian version, without correcting his context accordingly⁴⁰—is, on the contrary, the more recent of the two and is a product of Greek, or rather of typically Athenian, propaganda, invented, when the western question became an essential element of Athenian foreign policy, as a counterpart to the clever apology for Gelon. For only at that time, viz., toward the middle of the fifth century and from then onward, did interest in western and Sicilian affairs arise and appeal to the minds of the Greeks.

The story of the Persian Wars records several instances of references to events in, or sites of, the west; and these recollections, although they are to be rejected as evidence for a connection between the Hellenic peninsula and her western dependencies, which, as we saw, did not exist in the eighties and seventies, bear witness, however, to the aims and policies of the decades when Herodotus was engaged in collecting the materials for his history. It is a significant feature of the program with which Themistocles (though in all likelihood wrongly) is credited that he is made to threaten to give up the struggle

³⁹ Powell, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

⁴⁰ This explanation is advocated, among others, by Macan (*op. cit.*, II, 227) and Pareti (*op. cit.*, pp. 118–19).

and to advise his fellow-citizens to withdraw to the valley of the Siris, should the nauarch Eurybiades and the allied chiefs refuse to challenge the Persians at Salamis.⁴¹ Nor is it less significant that Plutarch (*Them.* 24. 7) should, on the authority of Stesimbrotos, describe Themistocles' relations with Hiero and his alleged plan of an escape to Syracuse at the time when he was hunted to death throughout Greece as a traitor, or that he should attest Themistocles' leanings toward the west by recording that he had given two of his daughters the symbolical names of Sybaris and Italia (*ibid.* 32. 2).

Whether Themistocles really aimed at the pursuit of a western policy, which would, anyhow, have been in sharp contrast to his program of a war against Sparta backed by the Persian king, is, to say the very least, extremely doubtful. What, on the contrary, is not doubtful is that the program thus fathered upon Themistocles is in its main features a retrojection of the foreign policy pursued by Pericles in the interval between the peace with Sparta and the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War. It should be borne in mind that a constant trait of Pericles' western policy was the enmity toward Syracuse, whose achievements on behalf of the Greeks and their cause it was, therefore, deemed convenient to diminish accordingly, and the attempt to secure the friendship of towns that were hostile to her. The earliest treaty entered upon by Athens with a Sicilian commonwealth was signed in 454/453 B.C., which is also the year of the first Athenian expedition to the west.⁴² Athens' ally was Segesta, and her unbroken friendship with Segesta was one of the reasons that led her to undertake both the fruitless expedition of 427-424 and the fateful adventure of 415-413 B.C.

The recollections of the past were altered to suit the exigencies of propaganda. And it was in accordance with the ideologies prevailing in the last decade of the Pentecontaetia that Herodotus related the history of the Persian Wars. Panhellenism after the old-fashioned pattern of Cimon's dualism, the trace of, or rather the longing for, which

⁴¹ On Hdt. viii. 62. 2, see Wecklein, *op. cit.*, p. 248; G. Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.*, II², 696, n. 4. The credibility of the statement of Stesimbrotos (Frag. 3 J.) on Themistocles' intention to escape to Syracuse, hastily denied by Busolt (*op. cit.*, III, 1, 8, n. 4) and Jacoby in his commentary, has been convincingly maintained by E. Meyer (*Gesch. d. Alt.*, III, 523-24 [=IV² (1939), 491, 493]) and De Sanctis (*Storia dei Greci*, II, 55).

⁴² Cf. De Sanctis, *Riv. fil.*, N.S., XIII (1935), 71-72; *Storia*, II, 124.

some have wrongly pretended to perceive either in the account or in the deeper intentions of Herodotus,⁴³ was bound to disappear from the memories of men and the records of the historians. Pericles, although he may have indulged in his rival's policy and agreed with Thucydides, the son of Melesias, on pursuing the traditions of Panhellenism by sending Athenian or pro-Athenian colonists to settle at Thurii,⁴⁴ was, however, profoundly convinced of the necessity of steering a new course both in Athens' policy and in Athenian political propaganda.

The benefits which Athens had conferred upon the Greeks by her submission to Sparta in the hours of trial and by the naval superiority she had displayed at Salamis and Mycale ought to be emphasized as the moral foundation on which she based her claims to her hegemony over Greece and its seas. To legitimize these claims on the part of Athens or to question them on the part of her rivals, nothing could be more welcome and effective than to lay stress on the role they had played in the Persian Wars and on their respective contributions to the liberation of their country. Nor could anything be more useful to Athens, once she had embarked upon a surprisingly vigorous activity in Magna Graecia and in Sicily, than to belittle the national achievements of the lord of Syracuse and disprove the official explanation of his absence from the fight in Greece.

It was not so much with the object of paying flattering homage to Pericles⁴⁵ as to help toward a better appreciation of his policy, in conformity with which his history is written, that Herodotus elaborated (or, to speak more crudely, invented) the story of the debate at Syracuse. Such an interpretation is substantiated by two arguments: first, the quotation from Pericles, which gives the approxi-

⁴³ So A. Heubeck, *Das Nationalbewusstsein d. Hdt.* (diss., Erlangen, 1936), pp. 56-57, and Pohlenz, *op. cit.*, pp. 172 ff., 187. Their contention has been forcibly criticized by Bengtson (*op. cit.*, p. 52, n. 1). For a brilliant presentation of Cimon's program see Delcourt, *op. cit.*, pp. 49 ff.

⁴⁴ This acute explanation was advocated by H. T. Wade-Gery (*JHS*, LII [1932], 217 ff.) and accepted by M. Delcourt (*op. cit.*, pp. 125-26). For a detailed account of the colonization of Thurii see Ciaceri, *Magna Grecia*, II, 348 ff. and G. Giannelli, *Raccolta G. Lombroso* (Milan, 1927), pp. 515 ff.

⁴⁵ So H. Diels, *Hermes*, XXII (1887), 424. The famous passage Hdt. vi. 131. 2 need not detain us any longer after the treatment of it by De Sanctis (*Riv. fil.*, N.S., V [1927], 517), R. Walzer (*Gnomon*, VI [1930], 579 ff.), and Pohlenz (*op. cit.*, pp. 167 ff.). See also Wuest, *op. cit.*, pp. 38 ff. and Bengtson, *op. cit.*, pp. 51 ff.

mate date of the composition of the passage and affords a clue to its understanding and, second, the place which the episode holds in the economy of his narrative in between the praise of the Athenians as saviors of Greece (vii. 139) and the exaltation of their unselfishness in renouncing the leadership on behalf of Sparta and her league (viii. 3).⁴⁶

All these passages resemble one another and clearly follow the same tendency—that is, to show how Athens had won her supremacy and to prove that she deserved it. She had fought hard, both to acquire and to keep it, despite the criticisms, envy, and armed opposition which her overwhelming power was bound to arouse; and to achieve that aim not only had the Athenians been compelled to leave their homes twice in the very same year and to rely solely on their navy, but later they had also made the sacrifice of the best of their youth in a bloody war of repression at the end of which Pericles had said that the spring of Athens had been taken out of her year; whereas Gelon, who had boastfully likened the help of his army to the spring of Greece, had, unlike Athens, disdained to submit to the necessity of an active and organized conduct of the war under the leadership of Sparta, had refrained from sending any assistance from the powerful city over which he tyrannically ruled, and had, on the contrary, pretended, once the war was over, that he had contributed as much to the cause of Greece as the Athenians, whom he was said to have abused.

The quotation from Pericles and, still more, the Periclean coloring not only of these chapters but of the whole account of Athens' role in the war against Xerxes, enable us to date the last books of Herodotus with an approximation that is tantamount to certainty. He neither brought to the west, when he settled at Thurii, a more or less finished draft,⁴⁷ nor did he limit himself during his stay there to collecting some notes which he elaborated not only after his return to Greece but, still later, after the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ With regard to the latter passage, the *communis opinio* has been ably and successfully defended by De Sanctis (*Riv. fil.*, N.S., XV [1937], 403–4), against Pohlenz (*Hdt.*, pp. 170–72) and Powell (*ad. loc.*).

⁴⁷ This is the surmise of Jacoby (*op. cit.*, col. 243) and Pohlenz (*Hdt.*, pp. 187, 211–12).

⁴⁸ So Powell, *op. cit.*, pp. 69 ff., 85–86.

Both these assumptions neglect the influence of Pericles' policy and personality over Herodotus' conception of history. Before Herodotus went to Thuri, Pericles was not yet indisputably supreme. On the other hand, at the time when, according to the second theory, Herodotus is reputed to have written the last books of his history, Pericles had ceased to be the inspiring genius of Athens. The truth, therefore, must lie in between. Herodotus was neither the champion of that Panhellenism the spell of which had faded before he undertook the fulfilment of his main task as a historian nor yet the champion of Athens when she badly needed defense against the attacks of enemy armies and hostile pamphleteers in the early years of the Peloponnesian War. When he returned from the west we do not know. Yet wherever he attended to the final elaboration of his history, he was determined to write what might appeal to his readers as an apology for Athens and to convey at the same time a discreet but adequate apology for Pericles and his policy.

It has often been surmised that the history of Herodotus and the plays of Sophocles are the best evidence for Athenian life and civilization in the age of Pericles. The chronology of Sophocles' extant tragedies is so hopelessly uncertain and is a matter of so much controversy that we must doubt whether, and in any case how far, this statement can be regarded as accurate. For, of which of the five Sophoclean plays whose date is debated, with the single exception of the *Antigone* (441 B.C.), can we confidently maintain that it was produced before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War? But with regard to Herodotus the dictum holds good, since Herodotus' history actually conveys the spirit that prevailed at Athens in the forties and thirties of the fifth century and explains the reasons that determined her to run the risk of fighting rather than see a challenge to her empire or the obliteration of the legacy of the Persian Wars, on which the origins and the moral justification of her primacy were ultimately dependent.

It was the object of this note to reaffirm, on the basis of Herodotus' borrowing from Pericles, the veracity of the *communis opinio* on the chronology, the composition, and the ideological background of Herodotus' history. Since an episode of his story of the Persian Wars is proved to be an invention, it might be supposed that it was also its

purpose to question Herodotus' merits as a historian or to agree with those critics who regard him essentially as a story-writer, lacking political outlook⁴⁹ or a sympathetic understanding of the issues at stake. I think, on the contrary, that investigation into those sections of Herodotus which must be branded or rejected as mere products of factional partisanship enables us to pass a sounder judgment on the man and his work.

Certainly, Herodotus is also a collector of curiosities, the pleasant teller of *Novellen* and romances, indifferent to the law of morality and unconcerned with the dutiful observance of truth;⁵⁰ the dreamer of a greatness which his contemporaries have destroyed; a metaphysical admonisher, looking in apprehension, awe, and despair at the unbreakable chain of sin and atonement of which he believes that the history of mankind consists.⁵¹ All these aspects exist and coexist in the work of Herodotus, and it has been the task of his most recent interpreters to lay stress alternatively upon each of them. Nevertheless, I venture to think that the mere juxtaposition of these tendencies and problems within the history is false and utterly misleading if we take it to mean the simultaneous and coexisting presence of contradictory interests and beliefs in the mind of the historian.

Any attempt at a careful and sympathetic analysis of his work in order to reconstruct the story of his inward life, completely dispels Herodotus' apparent many-sidedness. As soon as the entire process of his development is viewed and grasped as a whole, the different strata of his history reveal themselves as the different stages and stations of a soul anxiously striving toward a wider apprehension of reality and an objective, i.e., thoroughly human and political, understanding of the history of mankind.⁵² Perhaps at the present stage of research it

⁴⁹ See, for instance, the severe statements of W. Schadewaldt (*Die Antike*, X [1934], 166-67), Wuest (*op. cit.*, p. 75 ["die Herodoteische Geschichtschreibung ist in ihrem eigentlichen Wesen u. in ihrer Absicht nicht politisch"]), and De Sanctis (*Storia*, II, 220 ["manca alla storia di Erodoto . . . una vera politicità"]).

⁵⁰ Against this theory of Howald (*Hermes*, 1923, pp. 113 ff.) see especially Schadewaldt (*op. cit.*, p. 158). The parallel between Herodotus and a story-teller like Boccaccio had already been hinted at by F. M. Cornford in *Thucydides Mythistoricus* (London: Arnold, 1907), p. 239.

⁵¹ See O. Regenbogen's celebrated essay on Herodotus in *Die Antike*, VI (1930) (esp. pp. 226 ff.), to whose conclusions I have too closely adhered in *Athenaeum* (1933), pp. 402-3.

⁵² Cf. De Sanctis, *Storia*, II, 218.

is not yet possible to discern and single out all the phases and influences through which Herodotus must have passed before he became such a historian, fully awake to the significance of the events he relates, as our analysis of his account of the embassy to the lord of Syracuse shows him to have been.

Politics was the end, the last goal which he was to attain; it could not possibly be the first and paramount interest of the heir of the Ionian logographers at the beginning of his task and career. Such a discovery Herodotus was able to make only in the Athens of Pericles and after, and the traces of it are still visible in the last sections of his work (I mean those which he is most likely to have written toward the close of his life), where his style and outlook seem to have undergone a deep change and to have emerged from it more mature and modern. Here the identity of politics and historiography, which was to become the essential characteristic and the permanent legacy of Greek historical writing, is already, though obscurely, felt and foreshadowed. The master of history that *this* Herodotus is has still, I believe, to be interpreted and appreciated as much as he deserves.⁵³ The typical peculiarities of his successors can be traced back to Herodotus; and this gives a final proof of the greatness and productiveness of his mind, which was capable of such an effort after a conscious and ever self-surpassing development.

His belief in Athens, his strong confidence in the justice and nobleness of her cause, his intelligent use of party catchwords, his masterly command of propaganda, if they demand of us the greatest accuracy and acumen when we deal with him as a source for *our* reconstruction of the history of fifth century Greece, are the basic features of Herodotus' historiography in its final stage and make of this so-called "primitive" writer a truly "political" historian—the worthy forerunner of Thucydides.⁵⁴

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⁵³ Cf., however, De Sanctis (*ibid.*, pp. 220–21), who has ably determined the place Herodotus holds in the history and development of Greek historiography, notwithstanding his denial that Herodotus may be regarded as a genuinely "political" historian (cf. n. 49).

⁵⁴ My thanks are due to my friend Mr. F. W. Walbank, who kindly read and revised this article in manuscript.

APOPHORETA IN PETRONIUS AND MARTIAL

B. L. ULLMAN

MARTIAL'S thirteenth book consists of two-line poems intended to accompany gifts, all of them articles of food or, in a few cases, appurtenances of a dinner. The fourteenth book consists of similar verses about other gifts. Each poem in the two books has as title the name of the object involved. The thirteenth book is called *Xenia* ("gifts"), the fourteenth, *Apophoreta* ("favors carried away from" dinner parties). These poems are very helpful in explaining an obscure and much misunderstood passage in Petronius (56. 7-10), which I read as follows:

Iam etiam philosophos de negotio deiciebat cum pittacia in scypho circumferri coeperunt, puerque super hoc positus officium apophoreta recitavit: "Argentum sceleratum": allata est perna super quam acetabula erant posita. "Cervical": offla collaris allata est. "Serisapia et contumelia": opsophagi e sale dati sunt et contus¹ cum malo. "Porri et persica": flagellum et cultrum accepit. "Passeres et muscarium": uvam passam et mel Atticum. "Cenatoria et forensia": offlam et tabulas accepit. "Canalem et pedalem": lepus et solea est allata. "Muraenam et batiam"²: murem cum rana alligatum fascemque betae.

At the dinner party of Trimalchio tickets (*pittacia*) were placed in a cup and drawn out by lot. These tickets, on which names of gifts were written, served the same purpose as the titles of Martial's poems. A slave then drew out the tickets and read off the *apophoreta*, as Petronius calls them. The guests, however, did not receive the articles called for but punning substitutes.³ Few scholars seem to have noticed that the items mentioned correspond very generally with those given by Martial.⁴ Passing over the first item, *argentum*, for a moment, we next come to *cervical*, which is exactly reproduced in Martial (xiv. 146). The next two we shall discuss later. Then we have *porri*,

¹ Manuscript reading: *acrophagie saeledate sunt et centus*.

² Manuscript reading: *litteram*.

³ The same procedure was followed at Augustus' dinner parties (Suet. *Aug.* 75: *titulis obscuris et ambiguis*).

⁴ Burman pointed this out but did not draw all the possible conclusions from it.

for which Martial has *porri sectivi* (xiii. 18) and *porri capitati* (xiii. 19). For *Persica* (sc. *mala*) we may compare *Persica praecocia* (xiii. 46). Petronius' *passeres* is not exactly reproduced in Martial. It, of course, suggests pet birds (cf. Catullus' *passer*), and of these Martial has several: *psittacus*, *corvus*, *lusciniā*, *pica* (xiv. 73-76), topped off by a cage, *cavea eborea*, to keep them in (xiv. 77). In the description of this there is an allusion to Lesbia's sparrow. *Muscarium* is paralleled by *muscarium pavoninum* and *muscarium bubulum* in Martial (xiv. 67-68). *Cenatoria* are found in Martial xiv. 136; *forensia* are not in the epigrams, but we shall have something to say about this item later. *Canalem* is a pipe—a musical pipe among others (Calp. *Ecl.* iv. 76). Comparable is Martial's *tibiae* and *fistula* (xiv. 63-64). *Pedalem* as a noun (which is what we need here) is a foot rule; cf. Martial's *quinquepedal* (xiv. 92). *Muraenam*, too, appears in Martial (xiii. 80).

This comparison helps us in identifying several objects. *Muscarium* is often called a flytrap by editors because of what Petronius says after it (a point to which I will revert later). It is rather a kind of fly-flap to chase flies away, for Martial uses the word in that sense when he speaks of the *muscarium pavoninum*, a peacock-feather duster. The *muscarium bubulum* he describes as a kind of whisk broom for brushing clothes.

As with *muscarium*, so with *canalem et pedalem*: Editors from Buecheler on who interpret this as "something for a dog and a foot" are misled by the words that follow.⁵

Let us return to *argentum sceleratum*. This certainly is not to be taken literally and seriously. What is "polluted silverware" (for *argentum* surely means "silverware" in reference to a gift)? One opposite of *sceleratum* is *purum*.⁶ *Argentum purum* is "plain" silver, as contrasted with *argentum caelatum*, "engraved" silver. So *argentum sceleratum* would seem to be a humorous variant for *argentum caelatum*.⁷ In Martial we have *ligula argentea* (xiv. 120) and *phiala aurea caelata*

⁵ The emendation *canale et pedale* is uncalled for, as is *muraena et littera* in the next sentence. Petronius, by shifting from nominative to accusative and back in the punning substitutes, lost sight of the construction. For a similar reason we need not add *accepit* at the end, though we supply it in thought.

⁶ Note *impurum et sceleratum* (Cic. *Att.* ix. 15. 5).

⁷ Burman, in fact, suggested the emendation of *sceleratum* to *caelatum*, but this is unnecessary.

(xiv. 95). As in the case of *canalem* and *pedalem*, scholars have been so eager to explain the pun that follows that they have not stopped to explain the *pittacium*. So Buecheler (1862 ed.) says that Trimalchio chose *sceleratum* because it was similar to the Greek *σκελῖς*. But why choose a word that has no meaning in itself?

Most of the *pittacia* are in pairs, as in Martial. There is or should be some sort of a relation between the members of each pair. So *porri* and *Persica* are related merely by the alliteration and the humorous contrast between onions and peaches. *Passeres* and *muscarium* are connected by the fact that birds and flies both have wings. So, too, *cenatoria* and *forensia* must be related in thought, as editors tacitly assume. The former are clearly dinner garments (cf. Petron. 21. 5). *Forensia* can be derived either from *forum* or from *foris* and can therefore mean either garments for the Forum (i.e., togas) or garments for outdoor wear.⁸ Though Friedländer in his edition of Petronius accepts the latter explanation, the former is suggested by Martial's poem about the *cenatoria* (xiv. 136; he does not deal with *forensia* as such):

Nec fora sunt nobis nec sunt vadimonia nota:
Hoc opus est, pietis accubuisse toris.

Martial strongly implies that there was a proper dress for the Forum, contrasting with *cenatoria* and obviously called *forensia*. We could make up this word from Martial, even if we did not know it existed. Caligula gave *forensia* to the men at one of his state dinners, *fasciae* to the women and children.⁹

Canalem and *pedalem* are connected not only by similarity of ending but by their shape: both are long and narrow.

Muraenam and *litteram* are a combination which I cannot solve,

⁸ Ernout-Meillet (*Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine* [2d ed., 1939], s.v. "forum") holds that *forensis* from *foris* does not occur before Apuleius, but some of the earlier examples which the *Thesaurus linguae Latinae* gives seem to belong to this *forensis*. Yet the *Thesaurus* is clearly wrong in assigning to it some of the applications to a garment, such as Livy xxxiii. 47. 10, "eo die in foro . . . vestitu forensi." Besides, the context calls for a Forum garment (cf. Weissenborn-Müller, *ad loc.*). In *CIL*, VI, 12649 Mommsen correctly observes that *forensis* refers to the toga as a shroud, comparing Juvenal. The phrase used is *stragulis, forensis*. In Suetonius Aug. 73 *forensia* clearly refers to the immediately preceding *togis*, as *calceos* refers to *calciamentis*. For *Calig.* 17. 2 see below. Paulus (Festus) 368 M. is inconclusive, as are Col. xii. 47. 5 and Aus. 154. 4. In Ammianus xxxi. 2. 5 the Huns are said to have the same *domestica vestis* as *forensis*. A similar contrast is in SHA *Alex.* 42. 4. These are the earliest clear examples of *forensis* meaning "outdoor" garments.

⁹ Suet. *Calig.* 17. 2. Martial mentions the *fascia pectoralis* (xiv. 134).

nor can I explain the latter as a genuine gift; nothing like it occurs in Martial. We are forced, I think, to suspect that *litteram* is a gloss suggested by the *betae* which follows. The combination with *muraena* indicates some sort of fish. When we consider the many different names of fish, it is perhaps not surprising that a slight search brought out a likely candidate for the position we have created. The *βαρίς* is a kind of ray.¹⁰ It is mentioned by Aristotle (*Hist. an.* 565 a 22, etc.) and is considered a delicacy in comedy (Hermippus in Athen. viii. 344 d; Eupolis, Epicharmus, and others in Athen. vii. 286). But most remarkable is line 510 in Aristophanes' *Wasps*:

οὐδὲ χαίρω βαρίσιν οὐδ' ἐγγέλεσιν.

Here we have eels and *batides* together just as in my emendation of Petronius. Likewise Philoxenus of Cythera (Athen. iv. 147 a), in describing a dinner, says that a dish of eels was brought on, followed by a *βαρίς*. Surely all this is not just a coincidence; the combination of the two fish was well known, almost proverbial, and our emendation of Petronius is confirmed by it.¹¹

To make assurance doubly sure, *batis* occurs in Latin in the glosses (*CGL*, II, 28, 37). Pliny mentions a fish called the *batia*, which is obviously the same (*NH* xxxii. 77.145). This is the form I have adopted in my emendation.

I have left to the last the pair *serisapia et contumelia*. These are clearly not of the same category as the rest: they are not the names of objects and cannot be paralleled by anything in Martial. *Serisapia* occurs nowhere else in Latin, but its meaning may perhaps be inferred from two phrases which it recalls. Cicero (*Fam.* vii. 16. 1) refers to a proverb explained by Festus (343 M.): "'Sero sapiunt Phryges,' proverbium est natum a Troianis, qui decimo denique anno velle coeperant Helenam quaeque cum ea erant rapta reddere Achivis." But such *serisapia* has no appropriateness here, either as applied to the circumstances or in combination with *contumelia*. More plausible is the connection usually made by editors with *ὀψιμαθία*, "learning late in

¹⁰ The *βάρος* is a different fish, for Epicharmus distinguishes the two (59. 1-2; 90. 1-2 K. = Athen. vii. 286 b, c).

¹¹ Would it be too great a strain on the reader's credulity to see significance for our passage in the fact that the Athenians were fond of beets with their eels (see Liddell and Scott under *ἐγγέλους* and *ρεῦτρον*)? Apparently to an Athenian eels would suggest beets as today lamb requires peas and roast duck demands applesauce.

life." In Polybius xii. 4 c 1 it seems to mean "childishness." The most detailed description of this characteristic is in Theophrastus (*Char.* 27). The delineation is that of the middle-aged or old man who tries to be youthful and keep up with his son in athletics and in the latest songs and dances. He refuses to be his age. This kind of late learning does not fit the Petronius passage, nor do the more casual uses of the word elsewhere in Greek writers offer any clue.

In Latin, Aulus Gellius (xi. 7. 3) uses *ὀψιμαθία*, which he paraphrases as *sera eruditio*, to describe the person who late in life comes upon an archaic or otherwise rare word and at once begins to use it in his own speech. Similar in its application to style is Horace's humorous translation of the adjective *ὀψιμαθεὺς* as *seri studiorum*,¹² applied to those who use Greek words in Latin. But this, too, fails to be particularly pertinent for our passage. There is left Cicero's use of it in a letter (*Fam.* ix. 20. 2) to his young friend Paetus, in which he twits him about his serious devotion to the fine art of eating. He (Cicero), too, has become a connoisseur and will no longer be an easy guest but a critical one: "*ὀψιμαθεὺς* autem homines scis quam insolentes sint." This comes closer to what we are looking for. Trimalchio is an excellent example of the late learner in the art of dinner-giving. The chief thing that is wrong with his dinner is that he takes it too seriously—just as Nasidienus does in Horace's last satire; and this satire has much importance for Petronius, in spite of the denials of some scholars. The Nasidienus satire has its relation to the one on Catius (ii. 4), and this in turn is explained by the Paetus letters, as I perhaps shall show on another occasion.

Serisapia, then, may suggest Trimalchio's status as a parvenu in the very serious art of dinner-giving. How does this fit with *contumelia*? The key is in Cicero's coupling of *insolentes* with *ὀψιμαθεὺς*. Of Trimalchio's *insolentia* there can be no doubt; cf. 50. 3: "Exspectabam ut pro reliqua insolentia diceret (sc. 'Trimalchio') sibi vasa Corintho afferri."

¹² *Serm.* i. 10. 21. See my article in *Class. Phil.*, X (1915), 283. Seneca (*Ep.* 36. 4) refers to the characteristic without using the word: "Turpis et ridiculosa res est elementarius senex; iuveni parandum, seni utendum est." Here *elementarius* means, as the *Thesaurus* says, "*cui elementa discenda*," not "an old schoolmaster," as Lewis and Short have it. The glosses translate *ὀψιμαθής* as *cunctator*, which is of no help (*CGL*, II, 391. 26).

We have, then, a pair of words which fit each other nicely. Both represent qualities characteristic of Trimalchio, and there is therefore a bit of conscious or unconscious self-satire. But we still have to consider how the words may be regarded as "favors." The following suggestion is very tentatively put forward without much confidence in its correctness.

Contumelia as a quality is at times a translation of ὕβρις, and that leads us to an interesting passage in Cicero (*Leg.* ii. 28). He is reporting the action of the Athenians, who at the suggestion of Epimenides of Crete set up a shrine to Contumelia and Impudentia. Whether Cicero's version is correct or not, various Greek sources make clear that the two Latin names are translations of ὕβρις and ἄναιδεία. Is it possible that Petronius is actually alluding to this particular story? We have seen that *insolentia* was a dominant feature in the *serisapia* mentioned by Petronius in association with *contumelia*. *Insolentia* is not impossible as a translation of ἀναιδεία and as a synonym of *impudentia*. If there were (or were supposed to be) goddesses named ὕβρις and ἄναιδεία, there were, of course, statues and statuettes of them. By this chain of reasoning (rather devious, I admit) we come to concrete objects which could be *apophoreta*. Statuettes are among the *apophoreta* of Martial (xiv. 170 ff.).

Instead of the articles mentioned on the tickets, the guests received, by a kind of punning charade, an unexpected substitute. With no little success scholars have concentrated their ingenuity on seeing the relation of these substitutes to the names on the tickets. They have failed to note, however, that even the substitutes are gifts, most of them found in Martial. *Perna* occurs in xiii. 54; *acetabula* is not found, but Martial has a poem on the contents, *acetum*, in xiii. 122 and has many on other pieces of dinnerware (*pocula*, *calices*, *phiala*, *vasa*, etc. [xiv. 93 ff.]). *Offla* is not in Martial as a gift, but in the poem on *craticula cum verubus*, "gridiron with spits," (xiv. 221) he speaks of the *ofella* roasting on the gridiron. *Flagellum* appears in xiv. 55; *cultrum* in xiv. 31. *Uvam passam* is matched by *uvae duracinae* (xiii. 22); *mel Atticum* occurs in exactly that form in xiii. 104. *Tabulas* is understood by editors to mean writing tablets for sending messages outdoors (*forensia*). If this is correct, there are numerous parallels in Martial, where they are called *pugillares* (xiv. 3, etc.; in xiv. 3. 1

and 9. 2 the word *tabella* is used as a synonym). But I think that this is at least doubtful, for the connection of *forensia* and *tabulas* is very tenuous, even for a Trimalchionic pun. *Tabula* can also mean a painting, and we know of at least one such in the Forum, the *tabula Valeria*, set up in 264 B.C.¹³ Martial has a *Hyacinthus in tabula pictus* (xiv. 173). Another possibility is *tabula lusoria*,¹⁴ a gift mentioned by Martial (xiv. 17).

Lepus, the next substitute, is in Martial (xiii. 92); *solea* is represented by *soleae lanatae* (xiv. 65). For *fascem betae* compare *betae* in xiii. 13 and *fascis coliculi* in xiii. 17.

Murem cum rana alligatum is a combination we should hardly expect to find in Martial. It is not a food, or apparently any other gift, or even pseudo-gift. It is merely a pun, though none of the other substitutes for the announced gifts are only that. We must look for something more. The answer is found, or at least implied, in Burman, whom modern editors would do well to consult more frequently. Burman calls attention to the fable of the mouse and the frog. The mouse wanted to cross a river and asked the aid of a frog. The latter tied the front leg of the mouse to his own hind leg with a string, etc. The story is not in the poems of Phaedrus as preserved to us but is in the *Phaedrus solutus*, a prose version. Indeed, there seem to be remnants of the verse form.¹⁵ The pertinent part of the prose version reads: "Mus . . . petiit ranae auxilium. Illa posteriori cruri suo lino alligat pedem priorem muris," etc.¹⁶ One should not set too great store by the use of *alligare* in both Petronius and the fable, though the synonyms found in other versions (*ligare*, *nectere*, *connectere*) show

¹³ Cf. Platner-Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, s.v. It may be significant that Augustus, who, like Trimalchio, used punning titles for his dinner gifts, as we have seen, held auctions at the dinner table of paintings of which the guests saw only the backs (Suet. *Aug.* 75): "aversas tabularum picturas."

¹⁴ C. Huelsen (*The Roman Forum* [2d ed.; Rome, 1906], pp. 61, 232) uses this term of the gameboards scratched on the pavement of the Basilica Julia and on the steps of the Temple of Venus and Rome.

¹⁵ The most recent attempts to restore are those of G. Thiele, *Der lateinische Äsop des Romulus und die Prosa-Fassungen des Phädrus* (Heidelberg, 1910), and C. Zander, *Phaedrus solutus* ("Acta Soc. Hum. Litt. Lund.," III [Lund., 1921]). The former (p. cex) considers the following words, pertinent to our inquiry, part of the verse original: "Mus . . . auxilium petit ranae . . . lino alligavit." The latter (p. 2) restores thus: "Mus . . . auxilium petiit ranae, quae cruri suo Priorem muris alligat lino pedem."

¹⁶ The many variants of the fable may be examined in L. Hervieux, *Les Fabulistes latins* (Paris, 1884), Vol. II.

that *alligare* is not inevitable. The fable is also in the Aesop collection, and, in a slightly different form, in the *Batrachomyomachia*, attributed to Homer. In the latter a mouse climbs on the frog's back. Did Petronius have both the fable and the poem in mind? If so, we may point to the occurrence of *Homeri Batrachomyomachia* in Martial (xiv. 183),¹⁷ or we may think of a roll or tablet on which the fable was written. But Petronius' language in no way suggests this, and we must assume that a mouse and a frog were actually presented as favors, though with deliberate allusion to the fable. It may be added that there are many allusions to fables in Petronius, including two others about frogs (74. 13; 77. 6).

The substitutes offered for *serisapia* and *contumelia* are, according to our one manuscript source, *aecrophagie saele* and *centus cum malo*. For the latter the emendation *contus* is universally adopted. In the sense of "pole" or "boathook" (the sense recognized for this passage in the *Thesaurus* and for all Latin literature by Lewis and Short) this has no parallel in Martial, and such a gift would seem rather unusual. Why not *contus* in the sense of "spear," a use attested in many authors, as a glance at the *Thesaurus* will show? Parallels for this are Martial xiv. 30-34: *venabula, culler venatorius, parazonium, pugio, falx* ("militis ante fui"). But it is almost certain that the *contus* and the *malum* should be together, as they represent the single word *contumelia*, just as we have *murem cum rana alligatum* for *muraena*, especially if the interpretation I have given to this is correct. In that case the meaning would be "apple on a stick," like our taffy apples. Even if there is no parallel for this in Greek or Latin literature the necessity of taking *contus* and *malum* together in this passage makes it certain that this is the meaning. Petronius' *cydonia mala spinis confixa* (69. 7) are something different. Martial has *cydonea* (xiii. 24) and *mala citrea* (xiii. 37).¹⁸

¹⁷ Perhaps it is just coincidence that the *locus classicus* for words endings in *-φαγος* (an example of which occurs in our Petronian passage and which will be discussed next) is this same *Batrachomyomachia*. The various manuscripts give as names of frogs and mice *Ἀρροφάγος* (210), *Κοστροφάγος* (218), *Κραμβοφάγος* (218), *Τυροφάγος* (223), *Τέροφάγος* (227), *Πτεροφάγος* (227), *Πρασσοφάγος* (232), *Σιτοφάγος* (247) (A. Ludwig, *Die Homerische Batrachomyomachia* [Leipzig, 1896], p. 71. Of the eight, Ludwig prints four in his text).

¹⁸ A less likely emendation for *centus* is *cento*, used elsewhere of a garment by Petronius (15. 7). There are many garments, including cheap ones, in Martial (xiv. 126 ff.): *endromis, bardocucullus*, etc.

For the reading *aecrophagie saele*, the most popular emendation has been Friedländer's *xerophagi ex sapa*, explained as a kind of hardtack; Heseltine (in the Loeb translation) translates as "biscuits made with must." Buecheler's *xerophagiae ex sale* would be a kind of salt stick or cracker. In both cases *xero-* would be a pun on *seri-* and *-phagi(ae)* a translation of *-sapia*, supported in Friedländer's reading by *sapa*. Much to be preferred for its close adherence to the manuscript reading is the first part of Heraeus' *aeclophagiae tessellae*;¹⁹ αἰκλον is an evening meal and αἰκλος is glossed by ὁ ἐσπέριος in Hesychius. "Evening food" would be an excellent punning translation of *serisapia*. But I cannot swallow the food tablets (*tessellae*), to which Heraeus emends *saele*. *Aeclophagia(e) ex sale*, "salted evening snack," seems better.

Still another emendation has its advantages. *Serisapia* suggests a word beginning with ὀψι-, "late." There is no ὀψίφαγος,²⁰ but there is ὀψοφάγος, "dainty eating," and that would give an excellent pun (via ὀψι-) for *serisapia*. According to Liddell and Scott the word is the name of a fish in Oppian (*Hal.* i. 141): καὶ ὀψοφάγοι καὶ ἀνιγραὶ μύραιναι; but Mair (in the Loeb translation) is perhaps right in treating this as an adjective, "gluttonous," modifying μύραιναι.²¹ But ὀψοφάγος can be applied, at least in a pun, to a bit of meat or fish in much the same sense as ὄψον. *Opsophagi* is, we must admit, farther removed from the manuscript reading *aecrophagi* than Heraeus' *aeclophagi* is; but a paleographical confusion of *o* and *e*, *s* and *r* might give *eprophagi*, and that might lead to *ecrophagi*. I suggest, then, *opsophagi ex sale*, "salt fish." Ὀψοφάγος would be an eminently fitting characterization of Trimalchio²² and accords with the interpretation we have given to *serisapia*. The association of ὀψοφαγία with τῶν γυναικῶν ὕβριν by Theopompus (204 M. = Athen. x. 436 b) leads one

¹⁹ In *Woch. f. klass. Phil.*, XXXII (1915), 486; again in his sixth edition of Buecheler ([1922], p. 285); repeated with the translation "Esstabletten" in *Kleine Schriften* (Heidelberg, 1937), p. 75.

²⁰ That is, to be sure, no difficulty. In fact Bothe emends ὀψοφάγος to ὀψίφαγος in Eubulus, *Porn.* 1 (*Poetarum comicorum fragmenta* [Paris, 1855], p. 453).

²¹ Lehrs takes it as a noun, transliterating it into Latin *opsophagi*, in his edition (*Theocritus*, etc. [Paris: Didot, 1862]). Liddell-Scott-Jones agrees, calling it an epithet.

²² The classic discussion of ὀψοφάγος, with many examples, is Athenaeus, Book viii. It means "fish-eater," "epicure," "glutton," according to the context. The glosses translate it as *gulosus* (*CGL*, II, 36. 33; 391. 38; III, 335. 34).

to think again of *contumelia*, which like ὕβρις may be taken *in malam partem* (Livy viii. 28. 2, etc.). Whether we read *opsiphagi* or *opsophagi* we are reminded of Martial's *seras epidipnidas* (xi. 31. 7), though of course Martial is speaking of dessert. As to the punning connections between the words on the *pittacia* and the actual articles, editors have, as has been stated, been diligent and generally successful in ferreting them out. They explain *sceleratum* as suggesting the Greek word for leg, σκέλος (rather than σκέλις, as Buecheler and others give it), and that in turn suggests *perna*, "ham." The *acetabula* are presumably of silver and refer to *argentum*. This is not highly satisfactory, but I have nothing better to offer. *Cervical* is a "neckpiece" whether you mean a cushion or a piece of meat off the neck. As some editors point out, *flagellum* is suggested by *porri sectivi*, for *secare* is often used to mean "beat." The explanation that *cultrum* implies *sīca*, suggested by *Per-sīca*, should be rejected as unworthy even of Trimalchio. Rather, as Burman saw, *Persica* suggested the Persian sword.²³ *Uvam passam* is a simple pun on *passeres*. *Muscarium* may mean a "place for flies" (not a "trap for flies"), just as *apiarium* is a "place for bees." And what is a more attractive place for flies than Attic honey? By the same kind of literal translation, *offla*, a piece of meat, is "something for the dinner" (*cenatoria*) and *tabula* is "something for the Forum" or "for outdoors" (*forensia*), according to one of the explanations given above. A pun connects *canalem* with *canis*, "something for a dog," and leads to *lepus*. *Pedalem* may mean "belonging to the foot" as well as a "foot rule"; hence *solea*. *Murem cum rana* is a punning etymology of *muraena*; the pun is less bad when we recall that in vulgar speech *ae* was pronounced as an open *e*. We have a similar pun in *batia*, *beta*, if my suggestion of the former is correct.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

²³ *Medus acinaces* (Hor. *Carm.* i. 27. 5). Curtius Rufus constantly uses the word of the swords of Darius and other Persians (iii. 3. 6, etc.) Pompeius, *Comm. artis Don.* (V, 284. 23 K.): "acinaces dicimus lingua Medorum gladium."

GREEK ADJECTIVES IN -ΑΙΟΣ FROM INDO-EUROPEAN *-ahyos*

EDGAR H. STURTEVANT

EVER since the phonetic laws began to be taken seriously, the Greek adjectives like ἀναγκαῖος, Ἀθηναῖος, θαλασσαιος, and πνυγμαῖος have made difficulty. Their connection with ἀνάγκη, Ἀθῆναι, θάλασσα, πνυγμή, etc., is obvious, but one cannot merely assume the Indo-European suffix *-yos*, as the early comparatists did; for intervocalic *-y-* is lost in Greek (e.g., *τρέϊς* beside Skt. *trayas*).

Brugmann¹ suggested that these words were derived from the locative in *-āi* with the suffix *-yos*. With a certain amount of good will one can find a locative force in some of the adjectives (e.g., *ἔδραῖος*, *εἰναῖος*, *Θηβαῖος*); but whatever locative coloring the type shows can easily be derived from the meaning of several of the primitives, and in any event derivation from a case form is unusual and not to be assumed unnecessarily.²

Even less convincing is Brugmann's later suggestion³ that the type arose in the few derivatives of *s*-stems, such as *γεραῖος* beside *γέρας*, *κνεφαῖος* beside *κνέφας*, and *λεπαῖος* beside *λέπας*. From Homer on, the overwhelming majority of the adjectives in *-aios* stand beside *ā*-stems, and in any case such an origin cannot be alleged for Skt. *Sarameyas*, "descendant of *Saramā*"; *sabheyas*, "skilled in council," beside *sabhā*; *deyas*, "to be given," beside *dā-*; or for Osc. *kersnaiias* (nom. pl.), "pertaining to a dinner," beside *kersnu*, "cena," etc.⁴

We must also reject W. Schulze's⁵ doctrine that the present suffix was *-yo/e-* and so must lose *y* after a vowel (*τιμάω* < **τιμα-γω*), while the noun suffix was *-iyo/e-* and must therefore keep one *y* (*τιμαῖος* <

¹ *Gr. Gramm.*², 181; *Grundr.* I², 274; *IF*, XXII (1907), 176-78, n. 2; cf. Brugmann-Thumb, *Gr. Gramm.*⁴ 212.

² For detailed arguments against Brugmann see G. Sandsjoe, "Die Adjective auf *-aios*," *Studien zur griechischen Stammbildungslehre*, 21-59; A. Debrunner, *IF Anz.*, XL, 13-15.

³ *Grundr.* II², 1, 194.

⁴ Cf. below, pp. 360 f. ⁵ *Zur Geschichte der lateinischen Eigennamen*, 435.

**τιμα-iyos*). Edgerton⁶ has finally demonstrated that Sievers' law must be assumed for Indo-European times; there, as in Vedic Sanskrit, *-yo-* and *-iyo-*, whether suffixes or not, alternated according to the quantity of the preceding syllable, and so an Indo-European suffix *-iyos* necessarily implies a variant *-yos* whenever the preceding syllable is short; beside IE *ekwiyos* > Gk. ἑκπιος and IE *aghriyos* > Gk. ἄγριος we must assume such forms as IE *kwnyos* > Gk. καυνός and IE *pedyos* > Gk. πεζός.⁷ Consequently, we must look elsewhere for an explanation of the different treatment of *ǵ*-stem + *-yo-* in *γενναῖος* and *γεννάω*, *βίαιος* and *βιάω*, etc.

Few scholars outside of France will be satisfied by Chantraine's⁸ assertion that "le suffixe s'explique par une gémiation expressive du *y*." It becomes clearer every day that the attempt to determine the "couleur"⁹ of words leads to utterly arbitrary decisions. In the present case Chantraine admits (p. 47) that the expressive value of the Greek words in *-aios* was "soon lost." Would he maintain that such a value was ever present in the Sanskrit gerundives like *deyas*, "to be given"?

Sapir¹⁰ has shown that the normal Greek reflex of IE *y* initial is ζ and that Attic initial rough breathing corresponding to Skt. *y* (e.g., *ḍs* = *yas*) represents an original group consisting of voiceless laryngeal (*'*, *h*, or *x*) plus *y*. At the same time he showed that Attic rough breathing beside initial *w* in the related languages (e.g., *αἴνω*, "I winnow," beside Skt. *vāti*, "blow," Lat. *ventus*, "wind," etc.) is due to a similar consonant group consisting of voiceless laryngeal plus *w*; Gk. *αἴνω* reflects the group actually recorded in Hitt. *ḫu-wa-an-da-aš* (gen.), "wind," namely, IH *xw*.¹¹

⁶ *Lang.*, X, 235-65.

⁷ This remains true whether or not we assume the noun suffix in these particular words.

⁸ *La Formation des noms en grec ancien*, 45.

⁹ Ernout, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine*², p. xv.

¹⁰ *Lang.*, XIV, 269-79; cf. Sturtevant, *Pronunciation*², 69, 73. In this article I write *h* for the second laryngeal, instead of following Sapir's writing as I have done hitherto. There is no good reason for considering this laryngeal a glottal stop, and assumption of two glottal stops in Indo-Hittite makes needless difficulty for many readers.

¹¹ I translate Sapir's "Indo-European" into "Indo-Hittite" according to the system followed in my other recent papers; Sapir extended his treatment to include also voiceless laryngeals immediately preceding (or following) other Indo-Hittite semivowels, but the evidence is scarcely cogent. For *r* there is little to add to the one item that he cited (ῥόζειν: Hom. ῥογύοντα). In Homer μέγας, νέφος, and forms of λαμβάνω sometimes make

IH 'y-, hy-, and xy- yielded Proto-Gk.¹² hy-, and IH 'w-, hw-, and xw- yielded hf. Proto-Gk. hy- and hf- may have been either groups of phonemes or unitary phonemes (say, long voiceless spirants). For the intermediate stage of Proto-Indo-European I write hy- and hw- and again refrain from deciding whether we are dealing with two unitary phonemes or two groups.

Sapir¹³ suggested that such an hy would readily account for our adjectives in -aios. Just as Proto-Gk. hf- might result either from IE sw- (ē: Skt. *svas*, ἔκνυρος: Skt. *śvaśuras*) or from IE hw- (αἴνω, "winnow": Hitt. *hu-wa-an-da-aš*, ἔννυμι: Lat. *vestis*), so Proto-Gk. hy- may be supposed to come either from IE sy- or from IE hy-. I can cite only ὑμήν, "membrane," beside Skt. *syūma*, "thong," for the development of initial sy- in Greek, but the parallelism with initial sw- is cogent. Proto-Gk. hy- from IE hy- we have just observed. Now medial -hy- from IE -sy- appears in Homeric τοῖο = Skt. *tasya*, τέλειος beside τέλος, γεραίος beside γέρας, Att. κνεφαῖος beside κνέφας, etc. If Proto-Gk. medial -hy- from IE -sy- forms an i-diphthong with a preceding vowel, we should expect medial -hy- from IE -hy- to have the same development; and, since the ā-stems of Indo-European come from Indo-Hittite stems in -ax- or -ah,¹⁴ their derivatives in suffix -yo/e- necessarily involve Indo-Hittite medial -xy- or -hy-, whence IE -hy-.

But, if the laryngeal belongs to the stem, we must apparently assume that denominative verbs formed from ā-stem nouns with suffix -yo/e- had in Indo-Hittite the same combination of laryngeal plus y that appeared in our adjectives; we seem to have found an explanation for γενναῖος, βίαιος, etc.; but γεννάω, βιάω, etc., are more difficult than ever.

Since both the type βίαιος and the type βιάω appear in several of the related languages, we can reconstruct the Indo-European and Indo-

position, and we have epigraphical forms like *μλεγάλδ* and *λθαβδν*; but in all such cases we may assume movable *ε* as easily as a lost laryngeal. The chief reason for assuming the Indo-Hittite groups *xm-*, *xn-*, *xl-*, etc., is the resulting symmetry.

¹² Bloomfield and Trager have persuaded me that we should substitute the terms "Proto-Indo-European," etc., for "Primitive Indo-European," etc., to avoid confusion with the technical term "primitive language."

¹³ This theory was briefly presented in a classroom lecture. He never published it, and, as far as I know, he did not completely work it up.

¹⁴ Sturtevant, *Lang.*, XIV, 239-47.

Hittite suffix forms with a high degree of probability, and we shall find, I think, that this process will solve our problem.

Hittite¹⁵ shows quite clearly that there were two classes of denominative verbs beside the nouns that appear in Indo-European as *ā*-stems. With suffix *-x*- Indo-Hittite formed verbs from *o*-stem adjectives, with the meaning "put (something) into the state described by the adjective"; e.g., from IH *newos*, "new," was formed the verb *newa-x-ti*, "he renews" (the second vowel of this form is *a* because *x* changed a contiguous *e* to *a*), which yielded, on the one hand, Hitt. *newahhzi* and, on the other, IE *newāti* (whence Gk. *νῆαν*, Lat. *novāre*, OHG *niuwōn*). The same suffix *-x*- formed IH nouns in *-ax* (e.g., **newax*, "renewal"), which yielded Hittite nouns in *-ahhas* (e.g., *alwanzahhas*, "witchcraft") and Indo-European nouns in *-ā* (e.g., Gk. *τιμή*, "gift of honor," beside *ἄτιμος*, "dishonored," and *τιμᾶν*, "to honor"). In Indo-Hittite these verbs formed their present by appending the endings directly to the stem, and probably the Latin forms *fugās*, *fugat*, *fugāmus*, *fugātis*, and *fugant* and the corresponding Germanic forms in *-ōs*, etc., represent a continuous tradition, although the corresponding 1st. sg. undoubtedly shows the influence of our other class of denominatives. Similarly, it is possible that Aeolic Greek had such forms as **τίμαμ*, in spite of 3 sg. *τίμαι* (IG, XII, 2, 645a. 41, 44) and that these were inherited rather than analogical.

Hittite has another class of denominatives corresponding to IE *ā*-verbs¹⁶—e.g., *a-ru-wa-a-iz-zi*, "he bows before, worships," *a-ru-wa-a-an-zi*, *ar-wa-an-zi*, "they worship," beside Gk. *ἀράσμαι*, "pray." I have shown¹⁷ that these must correspond to Indo-European denominatives in *-āyo/e-*. Since the laryngeal that must be assumed to account for *ā* (e.g., Gk. *ἀρά*) disappears in Hittite, we must reconstruct with IH *h* rather than *x*. The noun suffix *-h-* formed collectives in Indo-Hittite (whence IE neuter plurals in *ā* and such pairs as Gk. *γόνος*: *γονή* and Lat. *locus*: *loca*), and the neglect of the middle term in a series like Lat. *locus*: *loca*: *locāre* early established a direct association between *o*-stem nouns and verbs in IE *-āyo/e-*. Hence, from early times, verbs of this type were formed directly from *o*-stem bases.¹⁸

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, and references there cited.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 245–47.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, V, 8–14; HG, 226 f.

¹⁸ Cf. Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, § 1059; Sturtevant, HG, 226 f.

It is this class of denominatives that appears in Skt. *prtanāyati*, "he fights," beside *prtanā*, "a fight," *aśvāyati*, "he seeks for horses," beside *aśvas*, "horse," etc. Sanskrit has no clear trace of the form or of the meaning of the type IH *newaxti* > IE *newāti*, "he renews."¹⁹ In most Greek dialects the contract verbs in *-aw* have clearly lost intervocalic *y*, and so they must belong to the same group as far as inflection is concerned. In meaning also a majority of the Greek verbs in *-aw* go with the Sanskrit type. The 1st sg. of all Latin denominatives of the first conjugation must come directly or indirectly from the IE verbs in *-āyo/e-*, and the same origin is even clearer for Balto-Slavic forms like OCS *gotovayq*, "I prepare," and Lith. *āšaroju*, Lett. *asaruōju*, "I shed tears." In all these languages except Lithuanian we have denominative verbs with factitive meaning (like IH *newaxti* > IE *newāti*, "he renews"),²⁰ but the other type (Hitt. *arwaezzi*, Skt. *prtanāyati*) has everywhere had more or less effect upon their form.

A comparison of these verbs of our second class shows clearly that the suffix had the form *-āyo/e-* in Proto-Indo-European. The length of the *ā* has to be inferred from Skt. *-āyati*, OCS *-ayq*, Lith. *-oju*, and Lett. *-uojū*. The only difficulty is that in Greek the phenomena of contraction prove that the *a* in the *aw*-verbs was short. No doubt Buck²¹ is right in ascribing the shortening to the influence of the verbs in *-ew*; cf. the partial transfer in various Greek dialects of *aw*-verbs to the *ew*-conjugation.²² At any rate the original length of the *ā* was retained outside the present system. In view of our argument hitherto, IE *-āyo/e-* in present stems must be traced to IH *-ah-yo/e-*, and we can understand the long vowel of Indo-European only on the assumption of full grade of the stem vowel of the primitive in Indo-Hittite; IH *-ahy-* could not become IE *-āy-*.

With Greek adjectives like *βίαιος* and *γενναῖος* we may compare first of all Osc. *kersnaiias* (nom. pl.), "pertaining to a dinner," beside *kersnu*, "cena," Umbr. *peṛaia persaia* beside *peṛum*, "fossam," etc. The gentile names like Osc. *Maraiieis* (gen. sg.) remind one of Aeolic Greek patronymics like *Νικολαῖος* and *Λεττιναῖος*.

¹⁹ Sturtevant, *Lang.*, XIV, 244.

²⁰ *Ibid.*; Endzelin, *Lettische Grammatik*, 625 f.

²¹ *Comp. Gramm.*, 264.

²² Buck, *Gr. Dialects*, 115 f.

In Sanskrit again we find patronymics and metonymics²³ like *Sarameyas*, "descendant of *Saramā*," *Rāthajiteyas*, "son of *Rathajit*," alongside of other adjectives like *sabheyas*, "skilled in council," beside *sabhā*. The gerundives from verbal roots in *ā*, such as *deyas*, "to be given," and *dheyas*, "to be placed," are at least superficially like our adjectives; we shall speak of them below.

These Greek, Italic, and Sanskrit adjectives can be combined on the basis of IE *-aiyos* (better *-ayyos*) or *-aiyos* (*-ayyos*).²⁴ Now the former of these possible reconstructions has to be rejected because we have already found (p. 360) that IH *-ahyo-* (and presumably *-axyo-* as well) yielded IE *-āyo-*. We are thus compelled to assume IH *-ḥyo-*, and there is no difficulty in assuming that this yielded IE *-ḥyo-*, which, according to Sapir's suggestion (above, p. 358), we may now substitute for our hypothetical *-ayyo-*.

Most of our adjectives in IE *-ḥyos* are presumably based upon neuter plurals or collectives in *-ā-* or *-a-*, coming from Indo-Hittite collectives with suffix *-h-*. There may, however, be some adjectives in suffix *-yo/e-* from verbal nouns in IH *-x-*. If I was right²⁵ in identifying Gk. *τιμή* as a noun of this class, there is a chance that *τιμαῖος* and the identical personal name are to be classed here. The appellative is known solely from Photius' article: *τιμαῖος· ὁ πολλῆς τιμῆς. οὕτως Διοκλῆς*. Since this meaning seems to tie up with the common passive meaning of *τιμή* rather than with the active meaning, it is likely that the adjective is not very old.

The Sanskrit gerundives like *deyas*, "to be given," are obviously derived, not from collective nouns, but from roots that formerly ended in laryngeals. The one just cited must come from IH *dḥyos* > IE *dḥyos*. I have indicated briefly²⁶ that this root must have contained IH *h*, since (1) Gk. *ἔδωκα* must owe its *κ* to ' or *h* + personal ending *xa* and (2) Lat. *dās* and *dā* require an *a*-colored laryngeal. The assumption of full-grade *ā* in the Indo-European word for "give" is confirmed by Arm. *tam*, "I give," where *a* cannot represent inherited *ō* (cf. *etu*, "I gave," beside Gk. *ἔδωκα*). It follows that *deyas* must represent IH *dḥyos* > IE *dḥyos* if the formation is as early as Indo-Hittite times.

²³ Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, § 1216.

²⁵ *Lang.*, XIV, 244.

²⁴ Brugmann, *Grundr.*, I², 171 f., 179.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, XVI, 276 and n. 9.

Skt. *dheyas*, "to be placed," on the other hand, belongs to a root with IE *-ē-* and IH *-e'-*; hence it can be reconstructed only as IH *dhē'yos* > IE *dhēhyos*. Skt. *neyas*, "to be led," must also contain the first laryngeal on account of Hitt. *neyanzi*, "they lead," etc.

Since the Greek adjectives in *-aios* have frequently been treated in connection with those in *-aios* and *-eios*, it seems advisable to devote some attention to the latter two groups. A part of the relatively few adjectives in *-aios* have lost *s* (*αἰδοῖος:αἰδώς*, *γελοῖος:γέλως*) or *w* (*τεσσαραβοῖος*, "worth four oxen" < *-βοφ-γος*). Pronominal adjectives *ποῖος*, *τοῖος*, etc., are probably pendants of inherited gen. pl. *ποίων* < IE *k^woisōm*, etc.²⁷ Homeric *δοῖός*, "double," presents a special problem that cannot be considered here.

Adjectives in *-eios* are much more common, and their origin is various.²⁸ A number of those in Attic show *-ηῖος* or *-ηος* in other dialects (e.g., *ἀνδρεῖος* beside *ἀνδρήιος*); the type arose in derivatives in *-ios* from nouns in *-eus* (*βασιλῆf-ιος*). Many adjectives in *-eios* are derived by suffix *-ios* from *s*-stems (*τέλειος:τέλος*), and beside them we have in some cases derivatives in suffix *-os* (*τέλεος*). Hence adjectives in *-eos* from IE *-eyos* (*χάλκεος* like Lat. *aureus*, Skt. *hiraṇyayas*) tended to show doublets in *-eios* (*χάλκειος*). The type in *-eios* ultimately spread beyond the usual sphere of the Indo-European adjectives of material in *-eyos*; but there is no need to invoke any other source than inherited *-ēwyos*, *-esyos*, and analogical extensions of these, unless it be for a few difficult words, like *αὔλειος*.²⁹

If the Greek adjectives in *-aios* derive from forms in IE *-əhyos*, we should expect the present suffix *-yo/e-* to combine with a dissyllabic base *kérə-* to form *κεραίω*. As a matter of fact just this present stem occurs once in Homer (*κέραιε*, *Il.* ix. 203), and its genuineness is guaranteed not only by a few occurrences in later poets but also by present subjunctive 3 sg. mid. *κεραῖεται* on a Delphian inscription of the fifth century.³⁰ Somewhat more common, both in Homer and in later writers, is a present *κεράω*, whose origin is clearly analogical. The

²⁷ W. Petersen, *TAPA*, XLVI, 59-73. I no longer connect *ποῖος* with early Lat. *quoīos*, as I implied in *TAPA*, XLIV, 99.

²⁸ Chantraine, *op. cit.*, 49-53.

²⁹ *δοῦλειος* beside *δοῦλος* must stand in some relation to *δουλεύω*; perhaps *αὔλειος* has been influenced by some lost word with suffixal *-eu-*.

³⁰ Schwyzler 321 = Buck, *Greek Dialects*, No. 50; cf. Buck, *CP*, VII, 78-81.

Homeric aorist stem is seen in the forms *κέρασσε*, *κέρασσειν*, *κέρασατο*, and *κερασσάμενος*; but, since there is no evidence for an etymologically justified *s* in this stem, we must assume that IH *-bHs-*³¹ yielded IE *-ahs-* and Gk. *-ασσ-*. Other instances of *-ασσ-* from IE *-ahs-* are *ἐτέλασσα* (cf. Brugmann, *Grundr.*, II², 3, 161), *ἐπέρασσα*, aorist of *πέρνημι*, "sell," and *δοάσσατο*, "it seemed" (IH *dos̥xsmi* or *dosH̥bhs̥mi*), beside *δέατο* and Hitt. *teshas*, "dream." Cf. also *δαιδύσσεσθαι*· *ἔλκεσθαι* (Hesych.) beside Hitt. *tuh̥hss*, "take away." Greek also possessed aorists like *ἐγέλασσα* (e.g., *γέλασσε*, *Il.* xv. 101) beside present *γελάω*, "laugh," where we are justified in assuming a verb stem *γελασ-* by such forms as *γελαστός* (*Od.* viii. 307), *γελαστής*, *γελαστικός*, *ἐγέλασθην*, *γεγέλασται*, and particularly Pindar's *γελᾶνής*, "laughing," from **γελασ-νής*. The present *κέρω* is evidently due to such a proportion as *ἐγέλασσα*:*γελάω* = *ἐκέρασσα*:*κέρω*.

Like *κέρω* seem to be the presents *δαμάω*, *πελάω*, *περάω*, *σκεδάω*, *ελάω*, *κρεμάω*, etc. Most of these forms show *σ* in perfect or aorist passive, and one or another of them may have lost intervocalic *σ* in the present; but in general they seem to be analogical substitutes for **δαμαίω* (or rather **δεμαίω*), etc.

We should probably recognize one other present of the type *κεραίω* in *ἀγαίομαι*, "be indignant at" (Hom. +), beside *ἀγαῖος*, "enviable" (lexicographers; cf. Skt. *deyas*, etc., p. 361). The commoner variant, *ἄγαμαι*, indicates that the second *a* represents IE, whatever the etymology may be. We conclude, therefore, that IH *-bHy-* yielded IE *-ahy-* (Skt. *-ey-*, Gk. *-αι-*, Ital. *-ayy-*).

NOTE.—Since the above was written Dr. Henry Lee Smith, Jr., has published in *Lang.*, XVII, 93–98, a brief statement of the results of one part of his dissertation (Princeton, 1938). Smith has observed that in several of the well-known words in which Gothic shows medial *ddj* and Old Norse medial *ggj* resulting, according to current theory, from IE intervocalic *y* we have evidence of a laryngeal before the *y*. Thus Gothic *daddjan*, "suckle," stands beside OHG *tāju*, *tāan*, "suckle," Skt. *dhāyas*, "nourishing," Gk. *θῆσαι*, "suckle," *θήσατο*, "sucked," *θηλή*, "nipple," Lat. *fēlāre*, "suck," etc. Crimean Goth. *ada*, ON *egg*, "egg," belongs with Serb. *jaje*, ChSl. *ajъce*, "egg," whether or not there is a genetic connection with Lat. *ovum*, etc. Goth. *twaddjē*, ON *tveggja*,

³¹ *H* is a cover symbol for *h*, *h*, or *x*.

"of two," reminds us of the long vowel of the nom.-acc. (Skt. *dvā*, Gk. *δίω*, *δῶδεκα*, etc.); there is no good reason for regarding this *-ō* as a reduction of "a long diphthong" under unknown conditions; rather the *u* of Skt. *dvau*, etc., is an appended particle. Goth. *iddja*, "went," whether an augmented preterit or a reduplicated perfect, belongs to the root IE *ei-*, "go," which had an initial laryngeal in Indo-Hittite.³² ON *Frigg* and *friggjar-dagr*, "Friday," go with OCS *prěja*, "favor, care for," Skt. *prīṇāti*, "pleases," *prītās*, "pleased." While Goth. *waddjus*, ON *veggr*, "wall," certainly belong with Skt. *vītās*, "hidden, girt," and Lat. *vītis*, "vine, vine branch," the latter probably go with the root forms seen in the Rig-Vedic perfect *vivyathur*, *vivye*, and in Lat. *viēre*, "twine, twist together"; the laryngeal to which the *i* is due probably followed. Nevertheless, there is some evidence for a preceding laryngeal in Skt. *tantravāyas*, *tanūvāyas*, "weaver," *vāsovāyas*, "weaving cloth," *vāyakas*, "weaver," etc. Scholars have long realized that these Germanic forms imply either Proto-Germanic *-yy-* or *-y-* combined with some preceding phoneme—just as Gk. *-aios* implies either pre-Greek *-yy-* or *-y-* with some preceding phoneme. Smith's contribution is the added observation that there is etymological evidence of the former presence of a laryngeal.

In two of the words just listed (*iddya* and *Frigg*) it would be difficult to posit IE *ə*, and Goth. *twaddjē* must surely be equated with Gk. *δοίος*, "double" (cf. p. 362 above). This suggests that we should amend our conclusion to read: IH *-Hy-* after an unaccented short vowel became IE *-hy-*. This provides an explanation for *δοίος* as well as for *iddya* and *Frigg*. It is still true, of course, that most of the short vowels concerned are in Proto-Indo-European *-ə* < IH *-hH-*.

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³² There are convincing reasons for believing that Indo-Hittite had an initial laryngeal in all words which in Indo-European had an initial vowel. These reasons have not yet been published, but there is no space for them here.

EPICUREAN KINETICS

NORMAN W. DEWITT

THIS is the brief story of two mistranslated passages in the extant writings of Epicurus, *Epistle to Herodotus*, 46-47 and 62. The former deals with the motion of what he calls εἰδωλα and we shall call "idols," and the latter with the motion of atoms. The portentous title "kinetics" was the invention of Carlo Giussani.¹

It is a paradox of Epicurean studies that this diligent Italian scholar, who alone among students of Lucretius made an extraordinary effort to master the teachings of Epicurus from the Greek texts, should have become the author and instigator of not a little transcendental nonsense. It is a supplementary paradox that Cyril Bailey, who utters many sane and illuminating judgments of Epicurus, should have involved himself in absurdities and inconsistencies through following the Italian. Consider side by side the following statements from his *Greek Atomists and Epicurus*: "His moral ideal was to be one attainable by all, and his physical system similarly must be grounded on the common-sense of the average man." This average man is to apply his common sense to the following: "The motion of the whole body is the outward expression in continuous time perceptible to the senses of the invisible motion of the atoms."²

By way of a return from this weird transcendentalism to common sense, certain statements may be made at the outset. This letter addressed to Herodotus is a brief epitome of physical theory. The student who took it in hand was encouraged to consult the larger epitome or even the thirty-seven monographs on physics.³ These aids are lacking to us. Consequently, the doctrine seems elliptically expressed. In the two contexts here involved—the first on the motion of idols, the second on the motion of atoms—it is elliptically assumed that mass

¹ *T. Lucreti Cari De rerum natura* (4 vols.; Torino: Loescher, 1896-98), I, Excursus vi, 97-124.

² (Oxford, 1928), pp. 233-34 and 337, top.

³ Norman W. DeWitt, "The Later Paideia of Epicurus," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, LXVII (1937), 326-33, esp. 328.

motion is one thing and the motion of idols or atoms quite another. Nothing subtle or profound is to be expected. To be really modern in our illustrations, Epicurus is telling us that the motion of a baseball and the motion of an idol are two different things.

Since all are agreed that the idols move at atomic speed, there should be no objection to the following sentence at the end of section 46: "Furthermore, the motion through the void, so long as no encounter with opposing bodies occurs, accomplishes *any conceivable distance* in time unthinkableably brief, for resistance and non-resistance take on the semblance of speed and slowness." The words in italics must be kept in mind; they furnish topical reference to the next sentence, of which my translation is quite new: "It certainly must not be thought, however, that the moving mass also arrives at the same time *at the greater distances*⁴ in units of time discernible only by reason, for it is unthinkable." What is unthinkable is this—that a javelin or a baseball could be hurled to an infinite distance in atomic time.

Our sentence, however, is a long one. It proceeds:

and this [the moving mass], arriving at a perceptible moment out of the infinite [that is, out of the invisible], will be inseparable⁵ from the spot where we shall first discern the motion, for it [the fact of its becoming visible] will be equivalent to retardation, even if down to this point⁶ we leave the velocity of the motion unimpeded.

The gist of this may be restated in these words: The motion of a moving mass is a unit; if it is invisible for part of its course and visible for the second part, you cannot consider these two parts separately. While acceleration is not mentioned, it is being impressed upon us that mass motion is subject to retardation; however rapid the previous motion may be, the mass at length comes into view. The motion of idols, on the contrary, knows no retardation but is uniform throughout. This is simple enough for a man of common sense.

The sentences under consideration have been detached by Giussani

⁴ Italics mine. With *ἐπὶ τοὺς πλείους τόπους* (cf. *Epistle to Pythocles* 114: *διὰ πλείονος τόπου*). Bailey, following Giussani (*op. cit.*, p. 114, n. 1), renders "to the several places to which its component parts move." This is the cardinal error. The Greek text offers no difficulty.

⁵ Bailey translates *ἔσται ἀφιστάμενον*, "will be taking its departure." This is not in the lexicon. The ordinary force is "stand aloof, separate one's self."

⁶ Needless doubt has arisen over *μέχρι τούτου*. It surely means "thus far, down to this point," that is, down to the time that the moving mass comes into view.

and Bailey from sections 46-47, dealing with idols, where they are needed, and switched to section 62, where they are superfluous. I come now to the latter, dealing with the motion of atoms. The principle is first laid down that the motion of atoms is equal and uniform. Then the contrast between mass motion and atomic motion is assumed precisely as the contrast between mass motion and the motion of idols in section 47. As before, my translation will differ utterly: "It will be objected,⁷ however, that in the case of compound bodies one atom will move faster than another, the atoms being characterized by the same speed⁸ as the compound because of the fact that atoms in masses move in a single direction." Let us modernize this. Suppose that two baseballs are pitched, one fast, one slow. The unthinking novice will object that the atoms in the fast ball will travel faster than the atoms in the other. Nothing could be simpler. The objection is true but not to the point.

It may here be interposed that the sentences of Epicurus are not always integrated units but sometimes are built like freight trains, by means of couplings. We have here an example. Epicurus assents to the objection that the atoms in one moving body travel faster than the atoms in another and then goes the objector one better—"and that too in the minimum unit of continuous time." Finally, in a loosely attached conditional clause, he appends the vital answer to his objector: "if not in a single direction in units of time discernible only by reason, but they [the atoms] are vibrating at high frequency, until the continuity of the motion [that is, of the moving mass] comes under observation."

I do not claim that the meaning here is clearly expressed, but I do claim that it is unmistakable when once apprehended. The *ὥς ἄν* clause denotes the last stage of the motion, not a *terminus ad quem*. Let us assume that a mass makes such a trajet that the first part of its course is invisible but the latter part visible. This might be true of the flight of an arrow. It certainly would be true of a meteor. In the previous stage the mass motion, like the atomic motion, is invisible;

⁷ Hicks changes *ρηθῆσεται* to *φορηθῆσεται*.

⁸ The usual meaning of *ἰσotaχείς* is "having the same velocity as one another," but here "having the same velocity as the compound body" is required. This point has escaped all the editors whose work is accessible to me.

in the latter stage it becomes apparent that the mass motion is in a straight line or, as Epicurus says, is "continuous" as opposed to vibratory. It need hardly be mentioned that the distinction still holds if the line of mass motion be curved.

We now come to a sentence which, if rightly translated, will compel us to make drastic modifications of our statements of the Epicurean theory of knowledge and will nullify whole sections of Giussani's *Lucretius* and Bailey's *Epicurus*⁹ and his *Greek Atomists and Epicurus*. We are called upon to assume, as before, that we have visible minima of motion, or minima of time in which motion is visible, and, corresponding to these, certain theoretical minima discernible by reason alone or by intuition. What Epicurus then tells us is this, that the analogy between visible mass motion and invisible atomic motion does not hold beyond a certain point: "For the gratuitous inference of opinion concerning the unseen, that naturally units of time discernible only through reason will also be characterized by motion in a straight line, is not true of such things [as atoms endowed with motion]."

To this is appended a clause of supreme importance for the Epicurean theory of cognition, which has, nevertheless, been more atrociously mistranslated than any passage that has come to my knowledge. Consequently, I think it best to print the Greek text, which is undisputed, and to build up a version piecemeal: *ἐπεὶ τὸ γε θεωρούμενον πᾶν ἢ κατ' ἐπιβολὴν λαμβανόμενον τῇ διανοίᾳ ἀληθές ἐστι*.

We all recognize *τὸ πᾶν* as the universe of atoms and void. Since this is discernible only by reason, it follows that we must supply from the preceding context either *λόγῳ* or *διὰ λόγον* with *τὸ θεωρούμενον πᾶν*, which certainly means "the universe of atoms and void as viewed by reason." With the above participle is co-ordinated *ἢ κατ' ἐπιβολὴν λαμβανόμενον τῇ διανοίᾳ*, which the Frenchman, Alfred Ernout,¹⁰ untroubled by hampering preconceptions, rightly renders "saisi par l'intuition de l'esprit." My rendering would be "or received through in-

⁹ Oxford, 1926.

¹⁰ *Lucrèce, De rerum natura* (Paris: Société d'édition "Les belles lettres," 1925), p. lxxv. In Bailey's *Epicurus* (pp. 259-74) there is an appendix "On the Meaning of *ἐπιβολὴ τῆς διανοίας*"; but he overlooks examples in Alexandrine and Byzantine writers which would affect his judgments; his interpretation of passages in Epicurus are highly questionable, and he makes Epicurus an intuitionist without quite recognizing the fact. I have discussed the question in the *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, LXX (1939), 414-27.

tuition by the intellect." Finally, it is not out of place to invite attention to the affirmative, confidential γέ; Epicurus is speaking of the concept dearest to his heart—the universe of atoms and void: "because, of course, it is the universe of atoms and void as viewed by reason or received by intuition through the intellect that is true."

At this point we may assemble these two disjointed versions and set side by side the passages dealing with two analogous problems, namely, the difference between the motion of idols and the motion of masses and the difference between the motion of atoms in compound bodies and the motion of masses. The former from sections 46-47:

Furthermore, the motion through the void, so long as no encounter with opposing bodies occurs, accomplishes any conceivable distance in time unthinkableably brief, for resistance and non-resistance take on the semblance of speed and slowness. It certainly must not be thought, however, that the moving mass also arrives at the same time at the greater distances in units of time discernible only by reason, for it is unthinkable, and this [the moving mass], arriving suddenly at a perceptible moment out of the infinite [that is, out of the invisible], will be inseparable from the spot where we shall first discern the motion, for it [the fact of its becoming visible] will be equivalent to retardation, even if down to this point we leave the velocity of the motion unimpeded. It is worth while to grasp this principle too.

The second passage is from section 62:

It will be objected, however, that in the case of compound bodies one atom will move faster than another, the atoms being characterized by the same speed as the compound because of the fact that atoms in masses move in a single direction, and that too in the minimum unit of continuous time if not in a single direction in units of time discernible only by reason, but they [the atoms] are vibrating at high frequency, until the continuity of the motion [that is, of the moving mass] comes under observation; for the gratuitous inference of opinion concerning the unseen, that naturally units of time discernible only through reason will also be characterized by motion in a straight line, is not true of such things [as atoms endowed with motion]; because, of course, it is the universe of atoms and void as viewed by reason or received by intuition through the intellect that is true.

Of the last clause, beginning with "because," the astonishing version of R. D. Hicks¹¹ runs as follows: "Our canon is that direct observation by sense and direct apprehension by the mind are alone invariably true." In the text, of course, there is nothing to justify the

¹¹ *Diogenes Laertius*, Vol. II ("Loeb Classical Library" [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938]).

use of the word "canon" and least of all the assertion of the supremacy of sense-perception. What Epicurus is telling us is rather that reason and intuition are the avenues of knowledge to a world of higher certainties than the world of sense-perception. As for "direct apprehension by the mind," if this means something definite, it must be intuition, for of this no neater definition need be sought; and, if intuition, along with sense-perception, be "alone invariably true," there is no place for reason, which arrives at truth not by direct apprehension but by a process of thought, either inductive or deductive, analogical or syllogistic.

Obviously, therefore, Hicks has not tested his translation by the use of reason. Bailey's version is similar, possibly influenced by the former. Ernout professes not to understand but obviously is influenced by Giussani. The latter has the vice of making this and some other problems too intricate. We need a fresh translation of the *Herodotus* and a thoroughgoing restatement of the Epicurean theory of knowledge. The currently accepted views of this problem, as well as judgments of Epicureanism in general, are not too firmly founded on the text of Epicurus but hark back to Eduard Zeller's *Stoics, Epicureans and Sceptics*,¹² now almost one hundred years old, or R. D. Hicks's *Stoic and Epicurean*.¹³ The latter was less interested in Epicureanism than in Stoicism, and he followed H. A. J. Munro, who did not know his Epicurus, and Giussani, whose fantastic explanations did not convince him but did mislead him. Usener's *Epicurea*¹⁴ is still catalogued as "epoch making," but it has made no epoch; Zeller, who long antedates him, still dominates the field. Our chief progress has been made in the domain covered by Ettore Bignone's *L'Aristotele perduto e la formazione filosofica di Epicuro*,¹⁵ but the substance of his findings concerning the early Epicurus are not as yet a common possession. Perhaps the more notable advances have been made in subsidiary studies, that is, the Herculean papyri and especially those of Philodemus.

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¹² London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1880. The original volumes on Greek philosophy were published between 1844 and 1852.

¹³ New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910.

¹⁴ Leipzig: Teubner, 1887.

¹⁵ Firenze: "La nuova Italia" editrice, 1936.

SCHOLIA PLATONICA¹

W. A. OLDFATHER

THIS is an important work and deserves a careful and thorough review. A notable *desideratum* of scholarship for more than three-quarters of a century, inaugurated by F. D. Allen nearly fifty years ago, has found a no less competent editor to revise, comment on, and equip with introduction and indexes, and finally a press worthy of the scholarship displayed.² Probably no other edition of

¹ W. C. Greene, *Scholia Platonica*. Contulerunt atque investigaverunt Fredericus De Forest Allen, Joannes Burnet, Carolus Pomeroy Parker. Omnia recognita praefatione indicibusque instructa edidit Guilielmus Chase Greene. ("Philological Monographs," No. 8 [Haverford, Pa.: American Philological Association, 1938].) Printed by the Oxford University Press. Pp. xlii + 569. Cloth, \$4.00 (to members, \$3.00).

² Actual misprints (disregarding mere use of wrong font, inconsistency in punctuation or capitalization, omission of accent, and such trifles) are extremely rare. The only petty slips noticed that might even be worth correcting are at xi, 7: 1859 for 1839 (probably so intended, but 1841 and 1842 would have been more accurate); xx, 6: pp. for coll.; xxxiv, eight lines from the bottom: read "indagant"; 46, last note, and 47, first line: read 99 C; 75: the first words in the last two lines should read *θήσειν* and *HERMIA*; *Phaedrus* 244 B (middle of p. 80): the asterisk in the middle of *βιργίλιος* should be on the line (indicating an erasure) not above it, a position which makes it appear meaningless; *Laches* 196 D: for *ση(μειωσαι)* read *ση(μειωσαι)*; *Gorgias* 510 B: *ῶς* should have been in boldface, to avoid any possible misunderstanding; *Rep.* 479 C: a † should be inserted before *δοκρεπίδα*, since it is corrected in the note and not listed in the Index; *Rep.* 493 D, l. 4: read *ἐνανήσαν*; *Rep.* 498 E, l. 4: read *ἐργων*; *Laws* 920 D: restore *ει* which has fallen out at the end of the line; *Laws* 936 D: the † after *μάστιγας*, which is sound, really belongs just before *ψευδομαστιγερῶν*; *Epist.* 318 B: read *συνησαν* (the reading in the text is indeed that of A, but certainly false); *Sis.*, at the beginning: for 87 b and 7 c read 387 b and 387 c; *Sis.* 389 A, last line: read *διᾶττοντες*; *Az.* 368 E: if "*κῆρυξ* (sic)" is to be printed at all that way twice (which I rather doubt), then it ought to be so printed also the third time; *Arethas, Theaet.* 172 E, l. 4: read *κραια*.

In this connection it would be well to note that Mr. Greene has shown me the very great courtesy of reading the original draft of this review, explaining a number of matters which I had not properly understood and protecting me from ridiculously making several errors myself while endeavoring to correct others. To a certain degree, therefore, but only to a degree (for Mr. Greene must not be thought of as agreeing with all the comments), the present review resembles the typical addenda and corrigenda which any author might make in reading his page proofs, and especially in preparing a second edition of a book. It is a pleasure, therefore, to record also the following corrections and additions sent by Mr. Greene himself: "p. xxii, l. 11, read 'nisi errat'; p. 94, l. 6, add period at end of line; p. 196, *Rep.* 344 a, † *διονόσιον*. C. B. Gulick suggests emending to *δημόσιον*; p. 197, *Rep.* 347 d, for *φροντίδος* read *φροντίδας*; p. 292, last line, read 'Palaeographica'; p. 493, read 'Πυθαγόριος'; also the reference here to 599 e is to *Rep.*, not to *Gorg.*"

scholia has been more carefully prepared, not even John Williams White's *Scholia to the Aves*, with the admirable indexes prepared by Edward Capps. A large amount of new material has been added, especially from MSS O, T, and W; a far more reliable text is given of what had previously been known; sources are designated wherever recognizable; cross-references entered; the schemata recorded; an illuminating critical introduction provided;³ and a superb 72-page *index verborum* compiled, which adds enormously to the general utility of the entire work. There are also a good many omissions, for it must be understood that the present edition differs from Hermann's partly in what it omits, as well as in what it adds. It is to be expected that these omissions are always justified, but the reasons which induced the editors to restrict themselves (with but a single exception) to MSS BTWA and O, and not even to reproduce quite all the scholia from these sources, still remain to me slightly obscure.⁴

It is only in the light of these general judgments that a few minor observations of detail are to be considered, principally as an aid to the thousands who will use the book and partly also as suggestions regarding technique and method to the handful of those who may engage in similar enterprises at some future time.

In the Table of Contents it would have been well to number the tetralogies; and seven minor dialogues (*De iusto*, *De virtute*, *Demodocus*, *Sisyphus*, *Halcyon*,⁵ *Eryxias*, and *Axiochus*) are practically lost,

³ Unhappily, however, without any index whatever to it, so that the ordinary user will be forced to lose a lot of time should he wish to know more about "the patriarch," "Constantinus," "Diogenianus," or "Arethas," or wish to have a precise statement of exactly what has been omitted and why (for this matter of omissions I find referred to on pp. xv, xvi, xvii, xxiii, xxxv, xxxvi, and xli).

⁴ For example more than two and one-half pages of interesting scholia on different passages in the *Phaedrus*, mainly from Hermias, have been omitted without a word of explanation; and nearly two entire pages at *Rep.* 509 D6 (here called 510 D) from Ruhnken, but this time with a note to that effect. In general it appears that nothing has been reprinted which is derived exclusively from Siebenkees, but I find no statement to that effect. In this respect, therefore, Hermann's work has not been completely superseded, and that sort of thing is always mildly to be deplored. No doubt the material omitted derives from somewhat later MSS, yet the quality of most of the scholia vetera is hardly such as to fear for them that they might be contaminated, if a few of their but slightly poorer relatives were brought into proximity. Mr. Greene feels that his statements on pp. xiv and xli are quite adequate, if duly pondered, to make his procedure sufficiently clear, and probably he is right. One can only hope that his other readers will be a little more nimble witted than was I.

⁵ Why not *Alcyon*, as correct and actually so printed, at least in a work addressed only to scholars?

at least for all younger scholars, by being lumped together under the designation "Spuria,"⁶ with neither index nor table of contents to help in locating them. Something can be said, of course, in behalf of the but vaguely appropriate arrangement by tetralogies; and yet I for one should have arranged the dialogues alphabetically, simply in order to save the time of those thousands of users of the work for whom some traditional order is a mere meaningless burden upon the memory,⁷ and all the more so because there is no sequence which even all modern editors follow. Some day, I trust, the predominantly alphabetical arrangement and the almost exclusive use of Arabic for Roman numerals⁸ will prevail, so as to lighten the labors of scholarship. And this is said because I count the invention or introduction of any device that will save useless labor (for that means time, and "time" is only a synonym for "life") as an altogether laudable activity of scholarship and worthy of being rated but little below the more showy performances of discovery, for which, indeed, as even on so small a scale as in the celebrated indexes of Bentley, it often supplies the indispensable prerequisite.

There follow a few miscellaneous observations, chiefly in the order of pages. P. xii: C. F. Hermann's edition is treated a little less than generously. Of course, like the similar publication by the great Zurich philologists, it was merely an *ad interim* compilation, one of those things that "may serve long, but not serve ever"; yet it rendered an immense practical service (like many of Immanuel Bekker's editions)

⁶ Itself not a wholly satisfactory designation, since that term should include also the *Definitiones*, presumably the *Epinomis*, probably the entire fourth tetralogy, and a few other items.

⁷ Plays, essays, orations, poems—in fact, works of all kinds (especially of Euripides, Seneca, Plutarch, Cicero, Ovid, Lucian, and others)—should regularly be arranged in the alphabetical order, as have been those of Plautus (and Euripides by Nauck, yet not by Prinz-Wecklein, Murray, or Méridier) long since. When the chronological sequence is known, as with Aristophanes and Terence, there may be a color of reason in retaining it, but what practical purpose does it really serve, in comparison with the very real and endlessly repeated inconvenience to the user who has not yet learned, or cannot remember exactly, the correct time sequence? Incidentally, also, the tetralogies are not numbered in the Table of Contents, yet are referred to later by numbers—a further source of confusion. I speak with a little zeal about this matter, because in the preparation of this review, through inability always to recall instantly the particular order of arrangement, I have myself lost, all told, at least several hours of what I regard as precious time, in mere fumbling around—and did not like it.

⁸ A typical example of the errors so much more likely to be caused by Roman numerals stands in the Index under Callimachus, where "III, 3" appears, instead of "VI, 3," as correctly given in the text.

for more than eighty years, and, furthermore, it is notorious that its failure to give sources and discriminate between hands is mainly the fault of the original editors, like Siebenkees, Gaisford, and Ruhnken, and not Hermann's at all. Besides, I see no good reason for suppressing Hermann's name in connection with the emendation of Arethas on *Euthyphro* 2 A, where the note "σὺν om. B: ex Polluce restitutum" might well have read "ex Polluce restituit Hermann." Again the brilliant recognition that in the obviously corrupt *Ἰσθμία* (*Parm.* 127 A) "annorum numerum latere certum est," unquestionably belongs to Hermann, writing under the date 1853, rather than to S. A. Naber, to whom it is ascribed ("latet annorum numerus"), for Naber's *Prolegomena* to Photius did not appear until 1864. Once more the quite certain correction of εἰς to πενήκοντα (i.e., A' for N') on *Gorg.* 473 E is here ascribed to L. Cohn (1884) instead of to Hermann (1853). At *Parm.* 127 A also καί is unquestionably needed between ἀγένης and ἀνὴρ, as Hermann saw, since it is notorious that at Athens contestants were divided into the three classes of boys, youths, and men; and besides καί has the direct support of Suidas, as the editors themselves report in the notes.—*Rep.* 479 C: The admittedly correct emendation, βαλὼν τε for βαλὼν με is due to Ruhnken, as Mr. Greene has reminded me.—*Laws* 899 D: "legendum quoque ἀντὶ τοῦ <οὐ> πάννυ" might better have read "<οὐ> supplevit Hermann."—*Epist.* 345 E: Instead of "l. ἀνίει" in the notes, one might have expected to see the unquestionably correct ἀνίει in the text, with a note, "corr. Hermann."

And while on this point of the proper ascription of emendations, I confess I cannot understand the procedure followed. Part of the time some particular scholar is mentioned, but in a great many other cases, perhaps as many or even more than half, there is nothing given but "l." (i.e., *legendum*), and this either in the apparatus or in the text upon no easily discoverable principle. A natural implication of such procedure, namely, that all emendations not ascribed to others belong to the editors themselves, is of course unthinkable, so that we are forced to ascribe it to a certain indifference about such matters (conjecturally, on the part mainly of John Burnet),⁹ which I do not feel in-

⁹ F. D. Allen used for his collating a specially prepared interleaved copy of Hermann's sixth volume, which omitted the Preface as well as the first 144 pages. The fact that Burnet employed this same copy of Allen's for the construction of his text probably led him, as Mr. Greene shrewdly suspects, occasionally to forget even the existence of Hermann's preliminary critical notes. His omissions ought, accordingly, to be regarded as nothing more than at least partially explicable acts of negligence.

clined to approve without some justification of the same, since many erroneous inferences could easily be drawn. In a case of this kind one might well require all or none.¹⁰ A few typical examples follow, in several of which the text of this edition might well have been improved somewhat. The instances have all been taken from a check of less than two pages in the critical apparatus of Hermann's edition (i.e., pp. xxxi-xxxiii). *Soph.* 216 A (Arethas): *Οἰνοτριδες* is retained (even in the Index also), where Hermann properly corrected to *Οἰνωτριδες*. If the false spelling by Arethas be printed at all, it surely should have a *sic* after it.—*Laches* 187 B: In the quotation from Euripides "(sic)" should be deleted, and a comma printed instead of a period (as has been correctly done with the same material on p. 122), and τῷ inserted before *Καρί* (with Hermann), as in all the MSS of Euripides and as the verse requires.—*Gorg.* 494 E: Two equally necessary and certain emendations in the same phrase have not been assigned to the true author, W. Dindorf (*Thes. ling. Graec.*, IV, 1560).—*Menex.* 235 E: The correct reading of the sentence beginning with ὡς Αἰσχίνης (except for the misprint *Πηδήταις* for *Πεδήταις*) is due to both W. Dindorf (1830) and Th. Bergk (1838), independently, but certainly not to A. Meineke (1839), as might readily have been inferred from the form of the note.—*Rep.* 599 D: Hermann's extremely plausible suggestion *νθ'* for *μθ'*, with the result of synchronizing Lycurgus exactly with the first Olympiad (776) instead of with the otherwise quite meaningless year 1136, should at least have been mentioned in the footnotes.—*Laws* 681 A: Hermann's *τοιῖχοι* for the impossible *τροχοί* seems to be a far more plausible emendation than *φραγμαί* and should have been recorded.—*Laws* 796 A: For the extremely improbable ἡ Πελίας (which is not even recognized in Pape-Benseler, Roscher, or *RE*², or anywhere else to my knowledge), Baiter's practically certain *Μελίης* should have been printed in the text, or at least noticed in the *apparatus*.—*Epist.* 345 E: Stallbaum's *οἷα σκυλάκων* (instead of *οἷα*) seems so much better that one wonders why it is not even mentioned.—*Alcyon* (p. 407, at end): For ὦν μόνων one might much better read ὦν μόνον, as Hermann did, or in any event record the emendation.

¹⁰ Mr. Greene assures me that Burnet's and his own principle was: "The emender is named only where real acumen was required; emendations relegated to apparatus where space is needed, especially if editor is named." What had confused me somewhat is, therefore, nothing but the inevitably a-little-less-than-perfect execution of an excellent principle.

The laudation of John Burnet (p. xiii) sounds somewhat florid, in view partly of the fact that the fundamental spadework on the sources¹¹ was actually done long before his time by T. Mettauer, F. H. E. Wolf, and especially the learned and ingenious Leopold Cohn; and partly also because a good deal of new material now published in full for the first time, especially hundreds of critical readings from O and A, need not ever have loaded the pages of this volume had only Burnet made proper use in his edition of the information which was available to him.

Pages xix-xxv contain an admirable account of Arethas and his activity, but no sufficient justification is given for Burnet's decision to print his scholia all together at the end (pp. 417-80). They differ from the other scholia simply in being a little less valuable on the average, and the mere fact that we know the author's name is no reason to increase materially the trouble which all scholars (and especially the younger ones) will have in using this edition. These scholia could easily have been printed in smaller type, or in brackets, or with the addition of the name of Arethas at the beginning or the end. And even if they really had to be segregated, at least a running folio should have been employed as an aid in finding them quickly.

In the list of works frequently referred to, mention should have been made of "*Olympiodori in Platonis Alcibiadem priorem Commentarii*, F. Creuzer, Francofurti ad Moenum, 1821," which is cited or quoted more than seventy times on pages 89-107.¹²

The "Conspectus siglorum" might well have listed Parisinus B and C (=Par. 1808 and 1809) and explained that the "Liber patriarchi" (τοῦ πατριάρχου τὸ βιβλίον or, less often, ἡ βιβλος τοῦ πατριάρχου) was presumably a manuscript belonging to Photius, as is freely stated in *TAPA*, LXVIII (1937), 187, but nowhere explicitly, I believe, in this edition, while none of these words (πατριάρχης, βιβλίον, or βιβλος) is

¹¹ On this point the zeal of the editors has occasionally led to a certain amount of useless annotation, for there are scores of superfluous notes like "e Demographo," "e Geographo," "e Mythographo," and the like, when the actual source is unknown, but the statements have to do with demes, geography, mythology, and the like. "Auctore incerto," or simply nothing at all, as in a great many instances anyway, might have done just as well.

¹² The study by Rudolf Beutler, "Die Gorgiascholien und Olympiodor" (*Hermes*, LXXIII [1938], 380-90), presumably did not arrive in time to be used.

listed in the Index, despite their frequent repetition.¹³ A reverse set of sigla, in which there might have been recorded the meaning or the equivalence of the symbols used by other scholars and editors, would have helped to keep things straight in a tabulation intricate enough at best.—The entry under O², "emendationes alicuius aetatis," though doubtless true, is not particularly enlightening; more useful is the expression on page xviii "eiusdem aetatis [or saeculi?] et sequentis."

Euthyphro 2 A: The singular comment here which puzzled Schanz and the present editors seems to be a hopelessly corrupted fragment of remarks on homonyms and heteroclitics. Thus ἀγνός and ἄγνωστος, although differing in form, have the same meaning; but ἄκανθα ("thorn") may be used of the point (or "edge") of a wedge (Doric dialectic by-form?) and also of a kind (or "part?") of a fish. Incidentally, none of these words appears in the Index.—*Euthyphro* 4 C: ἀντιστροφῶν, although marked as corrupt, may well be correct, since στροφᾶν in the sense of *versari* is in good usage, and that is what the word should mean here; ἀντιστροφῶν and ἀντιστρέφων seem to support it, and πέλᾱτης is not merely a person who works for his keep.—*Euthyphro* 12 B: The use of boldface for the quotation from Stasinus seems confusing, and in printing verses as prose it would be better to mark the end of lines. The conjecture by Burnet recorded here is an admirable one and is most properly printed in the text, just as should have been done with Porson's equally certain one at *Phaedo* 72 C, where the reader has to look almost to the end of a long note in order to make sense out of a verse.—*Theaet.* 153 C: For the impossible βεβαιοτάτης read βεβαιούσης from Zenobius BV and the scholium to *Epist.* 318 B (both quoted in the *apparatus*).—*Theaet.* 184 A (183 E): ἐξ τινος of BW and ἐξ τινα of T, I cannot understand and conjecture, accordingly, ἐξ ἐνός τινος. Compare just above (in the text of Plato) ἥτρον αἰσχύνομαι ἢ ἓνα ὄντα Παρμενίδην, and the parallels to this use of ἐκ with the genitive after expressions of fearing, which I have brought together in *Donum natalicium Schrijnen* (1929), page 628, note 1.—*Theaet.* 191 A: Exactly the same scholium is repeated under Arethas, on page 443, with the exception that there B is said to have written ἀσθενείας

¹³ The entire vocabulary of the purely critical notes seems to be omitted, perhaps with good reason, but I should like to hear what it is, other, of course, than mere economy.

(which seems to be correct), but nothing is said about it here. Besides B wrote ἀσχρον (*sic*) the second time the word occurs, a fact recorded in neither place. Now, of course, that mis-writing and omission of accent are not in the least important and quite properly passed over, but there are dozens of other cases where equally trivial errors are recorded or even allowed to stand uncorrected in the text. I merely fail to recognize here the principle upon which exactly the same scholium, in exactly the same hand, is printed once under "Scholia vetera," and once under "Arethas" and why some trivial errors or variations are recorded and others not.¹⁴ A clue may be furnished by the procedure with the long introductory scholium to the *Sophistes*, which appears in BTW. Under "Scholia vetera" the tradition of TW is followed in the minor details, with B's readings recorded as variants; under "Arethas" that of B, with the readings of TW listed as variants.¹⁵ Presumably all this has been done because Arethas was here, as frequently elsewhere, copying (often with slight variations) a "vetus scholium." But surely the intrinsic merit of the scholarship of Arethas does not deserve so meticulous a preservation of his trifling discrepancies. To me it seems that his work warrants no more special consideration than that of any anonymous compiler; precisely as different texts of the scholia of T and W have not been prepared just because they vary a little in reproducing the same material. The fact that the name of one of these trivial scholiasts is known but not the names of others seems scarcely to justify so much useless repetition of text and apparatus. For a good deal of this Arethas is merely a slightly poorer manuscript of the same work and might very well have been treated as such. A clearer statement of procedure and a defense of the same

¹⁴ E.g., ὄρος for the obvious ὄρος at *Phil.* 34 B; ἐψῶμεν for ἐψῶμεν at *Symp.* 185 D; συντελείς for συντελής at *Symp.* 205 A; Areth., *Theaet.* 184 A, φησί (as though the special reading of B, which, however, employs only an abbreviation), but exactly the same note, when printed among the scholia vetera reads φησι, and at *Phaedo* 102 D 2 we find φησι, while B writes out the word in full and with an accent, φησί. A striking example is *Symp.* 208 D, where we have in the same line "Πηλείς, Πηλέως (l. Νηλείς, Νηλέως)" and "Χλωρίδος," with nothing but a note in the apparatus "revera Κλωρίδος perperam." Mr. Greene wishes to observe that only erroneous and missing accents were to be left unrecorded and that other inconsistencies are merely the result of "faulty execution," not "a mysterious principle." This is, of course, quite human and understandable; I make a good many such little slips myself.

¹⁵ Incidentally, on p. 48 δίδω should probably be printed with a capital letter, as has been done on pp. 446 and 485.

would have avoided some mystification.—*Symp.* 174 A: βλαύτια is marked "(sic)" as though an error for βλαυτία; and yet it might possibly be correct, since MS V in *Anth. Pal.*, VI, 293, gives it the same accent and the corrupt βλαύρια in Hesychius points in the same direction.—*Symp.* 174 B: Attempts to emend the corrupt passage in line 2 might well have been mentioned. Schanz's note "ω (es scheint, als ob anfangs ε)" should have been recorded, unless, of course, it was a mere mistake on his part, and even then it might have been corrected as several others of his errors have been.—*Symp.* 190 D: The first twelve words of the second sentence I find in both expression and substance unintelligible. The suggested reading of Bekker (printed by Hermann), which is unexceptionable on both scores, should have been mentioned, at least, in the *apparatus*.—*Symp.* 215 D: For "δρικόμος (sic)" read, if you will "(I. ὀρεοκόμος vel ὀρεωκόμος)." The due correction has been made in the Index, indeed, but few will think to look for it there. The same thing has been done with "Ἀλιρόθιον (sic)." On internal evidence merely it looks as though at times a little too much of the inconsistency of Burnet has been left in the text, with Greene trying to make amends for it occasionally in his own admirable Index.—*Symp.* 222 B: The source of ῥεχθὲν δέ τε νήπιος ἔγνω (*Iliad*, P 32) should have been given (missing also in the Index).—*Phaedrus* 229 E: It is hard to believe that the scholiast himself and not rather some mere drowsy scribe made the absurd error of locating Delphi ἐπὶ τοῦ Παρνασοῦ πρὸς τῇ Φωκίδι. I should print, accordingly, Λοκρίδι, to correspond with the universally known reality.—*Phaedrus* 240 C: The statement in the note "Xenophontem comicum ignorant editores" (cf. also *TAPA*, LXVIII [1937], 194, n. 52) is not quite correct, since he is listed by both Meineke and Kock; neither refers to this particular fragment, indeed, but that is something a little different. The retention of the unattested Γερωντοκομικῶ is a little bold; Γερωντοκόμῳ seems far more natural; and, since the line is demonstrably corrupt anyway, it may be that the disturbing additional syllable may derive from some earlier form in which there had stood Ξενοφῶν ὁ κωμικός, or something of the sort.—*Phaedrus* 242 A: μεσημερίας (at least if provided with an accent), although a new form, may be sound enough and is so accepted in the Index. There is surely no sufficient reason to emend to the common μεσημβρίας.—*Phaedrus* 260 D: What is appar-

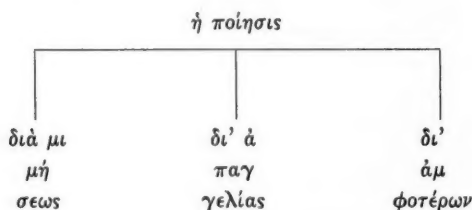
ently Ruhnken's emendation does very well as far as it goes but fails to complete the hexameter. To do that, take the otiose *πάλιν* from *καὶ πάλιν* just below and insert it after *κεν*, where it fills out perfectly both the sense and the meter. During the correction of the proof it has been noticed that Leidensis Graecus 14 (a MS of Gregorius Cyprius) which contains a large number of the proverb-scholia to Plato, supports this proposed reading. It has the correct form *ἀμήσατο*, and *πάλιν* actually twice, once, like T, in the phrase *καὶ πάλιν* between the two verses, and again, absurdly, since it ruins the meter, between *σπείρει* and *θεριεῖ* in the second verse. What must have happened is that at some early stage in the tradition *πάλιν* was omitted, afterward entered in the margin, and then introduced in one wrong place in the tradition of T and in two wrong places in that of Leidensis 14. The fact, moreover, that the Leiden MS, although it is a late one, has preserved a correct reading as against so fine an old codex as T, would suggest that this indirect line of tradition may not be wholly without value.

—*Phaedrus* 272 C 2: Here is another hexameter that can be restored with extremely light touches, for the chances are about even that a verse lurks in any proverb which contains as many as half-a-dozen words. Read *ἡλίκος ἂν* <δ'> *ἤρθη θόρυβός* <γ'> *εἰ ἐγὼ τόδ' ἐποίουν*. The saying exists in two forms, one that of our scholium and Gregorius Cyprius ii. 66, with Plutarch *Sept. sap. conv.* 156 A very close to it, which is merely broken-down verse; the other in Macarius iii. 48, Hermias, and Photius (followed by Suidas), which is pretty bald prose.

—*Alcib.* I 113 B: The reference to Homer should be I 433 not A 433. In Creuzer's note a Greek iota had (probably) been taken for the Roman numeral one.—*Alcib.* I 118 C: I should capitalize *νοῦς* when used as the nickname of Anaxagoras.—*Alcib.* I 123 A: The reference to a fable of Aesop by its number in the edition of Coray (1810), and without even mentioning his name, instead of at least Halm (1852), to say nothing of Chambry (1925 and 1927), looks like a surviving fragment of work done several decades ago.—*Alcib.* I 127 A: The reference to the *Republic* is v. 451 D ff.—*Alcib.* II 147 D: The reference in the note to Eustathius is 1356, 61 ff.—*Charm.* 161 E: Ruhnken might well be given the credit for the accepted correction *Θνατειρηνός* for "*Ουατειρηνός* (sic)."—*Gorg.* 459 C: *καὶ* is omitted also by B², at least so it appears in the facsimile.—*Gorg.* 484 E: I should print *λαμβεῖα*, since

in two of the three times the word occurs W writes it thus, and *ιαμβία* here looks like mere itacism. Compare *ιάμβιον* at *Rep.* 568 B.—*Gorg.* 500 B: Much the same material appears also on *Phaedrus* 234 E, and *Min.* 321 C.—*Gorg.* 507 D: The celebrated passage from Plotinus here referred to is *Enneades* i. 6. 8 *sub finem*.—*Hipp. Maior* 295 A: The reference should be to Bergk-Rubenbauer, or better Bergk⁴, since it is not in Bergk-Hiller-Crusius.—*Ion* 530 A: *λαβεῖν* and *χωρίς ἔργου τινός*, are sound enough, I believe. It is but a form of the hackneyed Greek contrast between *λόγος* and *ἔργον*. The *ποιητής* actually *does* something, he *ποιεῖ*; the *ῥαψωδός* merely receives (*λαβεῖν*), transmits, and passes on (*ἀπαγγεῖλαι*), without making or creating anything. Or else the contrast is with actors, who actually *do* something besides merely speaking their lines, while the rhapsodist simply recites, without any accompanying action. *ἔργον* can be used appropriately either of the poet or of the actor in comparison with the mere reader, or reciter. On the other hand, *λαλεῖν* in *Et. Magn.* looks to me like a deliberate emendation.—*Rep.* 327 A: In the notes a reference might well have been made to the much more recent work by L. Deubner (1932), pages 219–20. So also at 475 D, and at *Tim.* 21 B.—*Rep.* 337 A: In line 11 *ῥυθῆναι* might possibly be sound, since apparently Tarrhaeus himself uses the same curious expression again, a few lines farther on (p. 193, l. 2): *ὁθεν καὶ ἡ παροιμία ἴσως ἐρρήη*.—*Rep.* 343 A: Such expressions as "habent TW . . . (sic ATW)" are apt to confuse those who do not remember the inconspicuous statement on page xli that in the eighth tetralogy everything derives from A, other manuscripts being mentioned only when they also contain the same material. Since most users of the book will not always stop to read the prolegomena, or might easily forget such a detail if they did, some less easily misunderstood system of indicating manuscript sources might well have been employed.—*Rep.* 362 D: *ἀεί* in the proverb may be sound. The sense is perfectly good, and many Greek proverbs exist in slightly different versions.—*Rep.* 372 B: The facsimile of A clearly shows *ῥοάκων* here, not *ῥοακῶν*.—*Rep.* 379 D: The reference to Homer is Ω 527–32.—*Rep.* 391 C: The unusual verbal *παντέον*, though unknown to Veitch, Kühner-Blass, and Liddell-Scott-Jones, is possibly sound and might perhaps be defended analogically by *ἄπαντος* in Theophrastus, in case that unique form also be accepted.—*Rep.* 394 C: A *σχῆμα* here in A

has been omitted, which seems to be neither more nor less important than a number of others. It runs



—*Rep.* 469 E: παρά with the genitive for agency, although queried, is probably sound, on the analogy of such expressions as τὸ παρ' ἐμοῦ ἀδικημα, τὰ παρὰ τινος λεγόμενα, or even τῇ δόξᾳ τῇ παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν γιγνομένη. —*Rep.* 479 C: In A the last line does not appear at all, nor does the facsimile show ῥοπτερίδα but rather ῥοκτερίδα, with the first letter partly written over in what was perhaps an imperfect attempt to change it into a ν.¹⁶ —*Rep.* 509 C 2: The Homeric verse is A 599. —*Rep.* 587 C: Why we here find printed “τυραννος (sic)” and similar detailed records of trifles elsewhere, when it was expressly stated on page xxxvi “omnino praeterivi haec . . . accentus confusos aut omisos,” is not clear to me, but probably this is merely a slip in the execution of an excellent principle. —*Rep.* 600 B: Credit for the correction of Ἰλιάδος belongs to H. Flach (*Untersuchungen über Eudokia*, etc. [1879], p. 188) and L. Cohn (*Jahrb. Suppl.*, XIII [1884], 798, n. 2), independently, as it would appear. —*Tim.* 21 B: There might well have been a cross-reference, for closely related material, to *Phil.* 30 E, *Laws* 878 D, and *Ax.* 371 E. —*Crit.* 110 D: Ἀχαία (incidentally, A really reads Ἀχαῖαι) used of central and northern Greece as distinct from the Peloponnesus is quite unparalleled in antiquity, as far as my knowledge goes, and certainly preposterous. In view of the celebrated stele at the Isthmus naming the Peloponnesus on one side and Ionia on the other (*Strabo* iii. 5.5 and ix. 1.6–7, with the commentators thereon) I should unhesitatingly restore Ἰωνία. Either an echo of this misinformation because of the extraordinary similarity in expression or else possibly induced by the century-long French and Italian occu-

¹⁶ Mr. Greene reports that this so-called last line is due to a mistake by Burnet in reading Allen's collation.

pation of the Morea after 1204, Benedetto Bordone, in his *Isolario* (ed. Venice, 1547) II, 37) writes: "Lo istimo, che il Peloponeso con Achaia congionge." But it is a gross error for antiquity, just the same.—*Laws* Ὑπόθεσις (p. 296, l. 3): After the second word supply Γ, which is the correct reference. In A space had been left for the proper letter, which was never filled in.—*Laws* 632 D: The reading of iterations from this point on in A (merely summarized for the eighth tetralogy) has been done, as Mr. Greene informs me, in order to "lead some one to study the matter further," since it is only here that A can be compared with O. Unfortunately Schanz did not consider it worth while to record those in T, and when, in 1937, I verified a number of readings in T, I was unable (because of a prolonged series of holidays) to list all the iterations in the whole of that MS.—*Laws* 914 B: Why Ἀγυεύς (from ἀγυιά) is capitalized, but in the same scholium ἐνόδιον and ἡγεμόνιον are not, I cannot quite see. Any epithet may be capitalized when used without the substantive to which it is normally attached, but as a mere adjective only one derived from a proper noun would normally begin with a capital. Such, at least, seems to be the usage in the standard works on *Epitheta deorum* by C. F. H. Bruchmann and J. B. Carter.—*Alkyon*: The reference to Thompson's interesting *Glossary of Greek Birds* (1936) is slightly beside the point, since he nowhere seems to pay the slightest attention to this scholium, which is particularly interesting because of the evil omen mentioned at the end.

Arethas on *Euthyphro* 11 C: In the phrase πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν ὑπτίως ἔχον I propose πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν <ἀν>υπτίως ἔχον, in the sense of "not passive," "not indolent," the error arising from haplography of the letters αν. The phrase ὑπτίως ἔχειν, "be lazy," is well recognized, and apparently Diogenes Laertius (vii. 64) employs ἀνύπτιος, in the sense of "not passive," in characterizing reciprocal verbs.¹⁷—Areth. *Apol.* 18 B, fourth line from the end: Meineke's emendation καθήκεν, accepted by Nauck and Kirchner, might well have been mentioned in the *apparatus*.—Areth. *Apol.* 19 C: Φιλόχωρος, actually so written in B

¹⁷ It is true that R. Hicks (1925) here reads ἀ ὑπτία, apparently after H. Steinthal (*Gesch. der Sprachwiss.*² [1890], I, 299), although he is not mentioned; but other distinguished scholars (among them Huebner, Cobet, and Apelt) seem to me rightly to retain the manuscript reading, and it is also accepted in the *Mega Lexikon*, and Liddell-Scott-Jones.

but corrected in the Index, should have had a "(sic)" after it; and the same might perhaps be said of the distinctly inferior spelling in *Αἰγείναν* and *Αἰγείνης*.—Areth. *Crat.* 413 A: At the end of this badly preserved scholium I should suggest for the first lacuna (one of about eight letters) <ἡ τὰ ὀρωρυ> γμένα (cf. *ὀρύγματα*, four lines before) and for the second (one of about twelve letters) <καὶ οὐπώποτε ἐν> τῷ βίῳ, concluding with something like <αἰθῆς ἐπήδησεν> (cf. Suidas iv. 660. 25 [Adler]: *ἐπηρώθη τὸ σκέλος*). This is on the basis of the general tradition, conveniently assembled by Gardiner, who omits, however, the second of the three articles in Suidas.—Areth. *Theaet.* 172 C: The singular recommendation to memorize the next fourteen *σελίδια* can scarcely refer to the pages in B, partly because *σελίδια* ought generally to mean columns and not pages, partly also because that would be a very considerable feat in itself, and especially because fourteen pages in B would leave one at 187 C 6, right in the midst of a long argument denying that *ἐπιστήμη* is either *αἴσθησις* or *δόξα*—obviously no reasonable stopping-point at all, for, although the entire context for pages on either side may be sound epistemology, it is anything but sufficiently edifying and inspiring to cause anybody to wish to memorize it. What must have been in mind is rather the extremely celebrated digression, expressly so indicated both at the beginning and at the end, which sets forth the character of the true philosopher as distinct from the vulgar herd, and this extends from 172 C 2 to 177 C 3 containing (in Burnet's text) about 1,643 words.¹⁸ That number divided by 14 gives 117+ as the average number of words on the *σελίδιον* to which Arethas was referring. Now, since the approximate number of words in a column of MS A is ± 192 , it would seem to follow that the manuscript to which he was referring could not possibly have been the other half of A, but one with columns containing only a trifle over 60 per cent as much material as do those in A.¹⁹ If these inferences are

¹⁸ Plus or minus possibly a score, depending on exactly where Arethas would have one consider the great digression as beginning or ending, since the point is not marked, although the scholium in question is exactly opposite *ὀκκοῖν*, which would be a very natural point at which to start.

¹⁹ Fourteen columns in A would have brought one to about 180 D 3, which again is in the very midst of a long discussion of the difference in doctrine between Heraclitus and the Eleatics, with no obvious stopping-point for some little distance in either direction. A number distinctly less than 192 is what one would have expected in any case,

sound, then the scholia of Arethas were not originally made in the margins of B but must have been copied into them from some other source and hence can scarcely be in the handwriting of Arethas himself. Also, if there should ever be discovered a manuscript which gave evidence of having had lacunae at an interval of about 117 words, or three times that number, namely, ± 351 words, depending upon which column had been affected,²⁰ we should almost certainly have either the original manuscript which Arethas used or a direct descendant of the same.²¹—Areth. *Lysis* 206 E: The Euripides here mentioned is certainly not the poet (and should have been distinguished from him in the Index), but the statesman, whose proposal of a $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent tax ($= 1/40$) is no doubt the source of the nickname "Euripides" for a throw of 40 at dice. This is Euripides, No. 2 in the *RE*.—Areth. *Gorg.* 456 E: In the facsimile of B (II, fol. 373^r) I see no trace whatsoever of line 4, the still legible letters in line 3, ἦσαντα παρ coming immediately over νέοτητα δ in line 5, seemingly without the possibility of there ever having been a full line of writing between them, although a now vanished interlinear gloss might once have existed there which the sharp

since few really old MSS have such long columns, the average all told, I should fancy, being little if any over 100 words to a column. Manuscripts with something like 117 words, however, are easily found; e.g., one at Sinai (No. 273, tenth cent.) with ± 108 words to a column, at Patmos (No. 245, anno 1057) with ± 116 , another at St. Marks (No. 454, anno 968) with ± 120 ; etc.

²⁰ Thus, a lacuna in column *b* of the recto will be reproduced in column *a* of the verso at an interval of about 117 words, plus or minus some three to six according to the position of the lacuna in the line; while one in column *a* of the recto will be reproduced in column *b* of the verso, at an interval of three times 117, again plus or minus a few words, as before.

²¹ Mr. Greene has had the goodness to examine my argument here in detail (as did also Mr. Post), and, while he finds the "reasoning good," suggests two other possibilities which certainly deserve to be considered carefully. 1. "ὦ" possibly a slip? Theaet. 172 C–177 C in MS B = 2 φύλλα or 4 pages. Can our writer have meant to write δ' (in stead of ὦ) σελίδια?" 2. "Could Arethas have copied into B (work of John the Calligrapher) from his own less handsome MS (which had columns of c. 117 words each) the notes which he, or conceivably the Patriarch Photius, had already made in it? (Bessarion's procedure, cited by Post, would be comparable.) Or some notes from such a source, and the rest (the Scholia Vetera) from another MS?" Mr. Post also writes: "There is still a possibility, I believe, that Arethas copied the scholia from another book. . . . Bessarion copied K to get N and he probably took the marginal notes as they stood. . . . Or Arethas may have set a scribe to copy his existing notes in a finer manuscript. A scribe would be likely to copy paging as it stood. The possibilities are numerous."

eyes of F. D. Allen were able to read.²² A prolonged examination of even the facsimile might bring out a few more letters from this scholium; at least a papyrologist often makes out a good deal from material that at first sight looks no more promising than this.—Areth. *Gorg.* 457 C: The schema here I do not find at all in the facsimile of B, in hand B, but merely the highly similar one in hand B² (also W), which has been correctly printed on page 136. In other words, delete the schema on page 466 from $\theta\tau\iota$ to the end.—Areth. *Gorg.* 459 E: The entire first line is perfectly legible in the facsimile of B (fol. 374r).—Areth. *Gorg.* 467 C: Precisely the same abbreviation is read here seven times and frequently elsewhere as $\pi\hat{\alpha}\nu$, yet at 507 C three times as $\pi\hat{\alpha}s$, without comment. Also at the very bottom of the schema in 467 C (and a few other places) $\pi\hat{\alpha}c$ is written out plainly. I am not an expert in Greek palaeography, but I should be surprised if the same sign (which I should normally expect to stand for $\pi\hat{\alpha}s$) can just as well mean $\pi\hat{\alpha}\nu$.²³—Areth. *Gorg.* 475 B: The schema here is incomplete; one brace connecting the first and third terms also has the abbreviation for $\pi\hat{\alpha}s$, as does another connecting the second and fourth terms.—Areth. *Gorg.* 476 D: The complete schema here has a brace connecting the second and fourth terms, with the same abbreviation for $\pi\hat{\alpha}s$.

This brings us to the superb indexes, which are clearly the most important and useful portion of the book, and upon which no end of expert and self-denying toil has been lavished. There follow a few comments, additions, and corrections.

To begin with, upon a definitely announced principle (p. 481), not a single proper noun or other word occurring in any quotation has been listed, and this means that a really considerable mass of material is left unrecorded. For example, not one out of fourteen proper nouns, for the Seven Sages and their habitats, from the scholium at *Prot.* 343 A, is listed; nor of a dozen equally important ones, bearing upon the great athletic festivals, from the scholium to *Laws* 950 E, simply

²² It seems to me quite certain that no complete line like 4 could have come between ll. 3 and 5, since there is simply no room for it. If Allen, with the use of a chemical, as Mr. Greene reports, thought that both he and Dyer saw a few letters there, they must have been a gloss, and not a regular line.

²³ Mr. Greene comments as follows: "I now believe that π^{\wedge} was probably meant by Arethas, as ordinarily, everywhere for $\pi\hat{\alpha}s$ I had been guided by the supposition that some concnity of gender was called for. J. B[urnet] at least once (468 d) expanded π^{\wedge} as $\pi\hat{\alpha}\nu$; I rashly did it elsewhere."

because these are verses elsewhere published. And that is the more to be deplored because the second set is so extremely uncommon that its contents are unknown (as tested by the unique *Τρίνυχος*, an epithet of Herakles) to the *Thesaurus*, Liddell-Scott-Jones, Pape-Benseler, and even the *RE*². In fact, as far as I can recall offhand, it has never been printed elsewhere in full except by F. Didot in a note on *Anth. Pal.*, IX, 357, after a copy prepared by C. Wescher. (Incidentally, commas have dropped out at the end of ll. 2 and 3.)—Again, while the name of a prose work, like the *Ἀλήθεια* of Protagoras, or an ordinary poem, like the *Δημητρὸς κάλαθος* of Callimachus,²⁴ is recorded, not a single one of the scores of dramas appears under its own name, but only under that of the poet.—*Αἰγείνα* (the inferior spelling) and *Αἰγίνα* should perhaps have been combined.—Under *Ἀνθεμίων* add an asterisk to the reference.—Under *Ἀνθολογία* add ix. 357 at *Laws* 950 E.—Add *Ἀσκραῖος* (of Hesiod) from *Prot.* 340 D, and *Ἐπιζεφύριοι* from *Tim.* 20 A.—Under such a name as *Ζεὺς* it would have been a convenience to list the epithets like *ἀποτρόπαιος*, *προστρόπαιος*, *φίλιος*, etc.—I should have listed the *Κύπρια* of Stasinus at *Euthyphro* 12 B, since under the poet's name this designation becomes merely "fr. xxiii."—*Λοκρίς* at *Epist.* 320 A is, of course, only the adjective, the lady's name being actually Doris.—Under *μαντεύεσθαι* read *Laws* 856 E.—Under *Ὀμηρος* for *Ξ* 201 read *Theaet.* 179 E*; also add A 599 at 509 C 2, P 32 at *Symp.* 222 B, and change A 433 at *Alcib.* I 113 B to I 433.—Under *Σαννυρίων* read *Apol.* 19 C*.

Under the *Index verborum*: Add *ἄκανθα* at *Euthyphro* 2 A.—Under *ἄλευρον* add *Phaedo* 99 B.—Under *ἀναγκάζειν* read *Theaet.* 190 E*, or better still, omit the reference, since it occurs only in the lemma.—Add *ἀνακροῦειν* at *Phaedo* 107 A: also *ἀντιστρωφᾶν* (with or without a dagger) at *Euthyphro* 4 C; *ἀτυχεστάτον* at *Crat.* 395 E; *βλαῦτια*, or *βλαντία*, if you will, along with *βλαύτη*, at *Symp.* 174 A; *ἔγνω* at *Symp.* 222 B, since the other two words from the (unregistered) Homeric quotation are recorded; *ἐκτήμοροι* at *Euthyphro* 4 C (printed only in the *apparatus*, apparently because a late MS introduced material presumably from Photius, but if all derivations from recognized sources were to be omitted we should have had a much more slender

²⁴ But this may not have been recognized as a title.

volume); ἔπαροις at *Phaedo* 111 E; the reference *Euthyphro* 2 A for ἰχθύς; τὰ κεράμια at *Theaet.* 179 D; μάκτρα at *Phaedo* 99 B.

The only considerable article systematically verified was παροιμία,²⁵ with the following results: To the list of passages cited add occurrences of the word παροιμία at *Euthyphro* 3 A and *Theaet.* 173 D; read Soph. 216 C for 216 A; write Soph. 241 D for 239 E; for *Polit.* 264 C read 264 B; for *Phileb.* 45 C read 45 E; add *Amat.* 133 C; for *Charm.* 163 B read 165 A; add *bis* to *Laches* 187 B (and add a †, since Arethas comments also on the expression, although without using the word παροιμία); at *Gorg.* 447 A it would perhaps be better to print "447 A; 447 A†"; at *Gorg.* 465 D strike out the brackets, because the word παροιμία actually occurs here, and in the text read διὰ τὸ <δομῶ πάντα>, on which point consult E. von Leutsch on *Apostolius* xiv. 3, and especially the flat statement to this same effect in the scholia to *Aris-*

²⁵ This was selected partly because of the intrinsic value of that kind of material in these scholia and partly also because I have at present a special interest in proverbs, since B. E. Perry, Nathan Dane, and I have recently inaugurated work leading to the preparation of a new "Corpus of Greek Proverbs," to include not merely the ancient medieval collections but also those many hundreds of proverbs which occur in literature but have escaped the compilers.

It is also worth noting, especially in this connection, that at least three MSS contain proverbs from Plato and may thus be presumed to have some close relation to the scholia. These are Parisinus 2720 ([Omont], III, 29) fols. 33r-37v: "Proverbia ex Platone"; and Parisinus Suppl. Graec. 505 A ([Omont], III, 271) fols. 13-19: "Ex Platonis proverbiiis." In addition a Leidensis, No. 14 (*Cat. Bibl. Lugd. Bat.*), in one of several recensions of Gregorius Cyprius, contains seventeen of Plato's proverbs, together with brief explanations which are similar to, but not identical with, those in the scholia. These seventeen were all recognized and duly marked in a careful study by F. Brachmann entitled "Quaestiones Pseudo-Diogenianae" (*Neue Jahrb.*, Supplbd., XIV [1885], 406-15), and his observations have been verified by Nathan Dane, in comparing the text of the Leidensis, as printed in the *Göttingen Corpus of Proverbs* (II, 53-92), with the scholia in the present edition. Photostats of these three MSS have been "on order" now for some time, and it should soon be possible to determine their relation to the Platonic scholia. The editors of the *Scholia to Plato* give no indication of being familiar with this indirect line of tradition, their latest references to the proverbs in the Platonic scholia being to Leopold Cohn's brilliant study in the preceding number of the supplementary volumes to the *Neue Jahrbücher*.

A special monograph on the proverbs in Plato existed at one time in antiquity, no doubt pretty early, since this work seems to have been used by the compilers of even the scholia vetera. All that is known about it appears in the phrase οὕτως ὁ εἰς τὰς παρὰ (περὶ cod.) Πλάτωνι παροιμίας γράψας, from Anon. Exc. Vat., in *Mythographi Graeci* III, 2, p. 92 (Cod. Vat. 305, anno 1314, hand of Theophylactos Saponopoulos). It seems reasonable to suppose that this, rather than the scholia to Plato, is the original source for the excerpts in the two Paris MSS and the one in Leiden (listed above), and, if that should prove to be the case, then these codices will constitute an independent line of tradition, which can be used to control that of the proverb-scholia (as already done, for one example, in the comment above on *Phaedrus* 260 D).

tides, *Panath.* cxxx. 7; add *Hipp. Maior* 293 A.—To these cases might well be added the following, where a proverb is discussed or paraphrased, but the actual word *παροιμία* has not been used: *Apol.* 19 C*; probably also *Parm.* 136 E; *Symp.* 195 B (this winged word was taken over by the paroemiographers); *Phaedrus* 242 B; *Ax.* 366 C. Observations, also, several of them distinctly important, upon proverbs appear in the Introduction (pp. xxiii f.; xxv, n. 2; xxix, n. 9; xxx; xxxiii f.).

To *προστρόπαιος* add *Crat.* 396 E; there is surely no harm in writing out the whole of *ῥεχθέν δέ τε νήπιος ἔγνω*, but why this quotation among scores of others was thus singled out, I do not know; add the extremely rare *στερνόμαντις* at *Soph.* 252 C; also *Theaet.* 144 A for *στήριγμα*; under *συνιέναι* add *Theaet.* 153 C and *Ep.* 318 B, and read *Charm.* 154 B and *Min.* 315 C; add *σφανίας*, with or without a †, at *Euthyphro* 2 A; also *ὑπέρφρων* at *Phaedo* 96 A, and *ὑψωσις* at *Phaedo* 111 E.

But all these irregularities, omissions, and the like, abound in every human enterprise (my own especially included) and are but the merest *quisquiliae* in comparison with the monumental merits of the work before us—*παντὸς γὰρ προσθεῖναι τὸ ἐλλείπον*, as Aristotle drily observes. They were discovered only by the verification of well over a thousand entries and records, the overwhelming majority of which have been found to be correct, or illuminating, or both. So I close, as I began, by expressing the conviction that this is probably the most careful and useful edition of scholia I have ever handled. To Mr. Greene and his predecessors, to the general editor, Mr. Post, and to the Oxford University Press the gratitude of all classical scholars is due.²⁶

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

²⁶ It should be added that Mr. Greene has himself published an important paper on this work in *TAPA*, LXVIII (1937), 184–96. Let me here merely remark that on p. 195 reference is made to "the man who would not die for his friend" (*Laws* 865 B). That, indeed, is what the scholiast actually says, but not the oracle, which had expected the questioner merely to "put up a fight for his friend," a somewhat different matter.

ADDENDUM.—Perhaps the reading of A (*Ἀχαῖαι*) at *Crit.* 110 D (above, p. 382) indicates how the text should be corrected. I propose, therefore: *Καθ' ἣν ἢ <Ἰωνία τῇ> Ἀχαῖα τῇ Πελοποννησ<ι> συνάπτεται*. A change of some kind is necessary here in any case, but one which produces a grave error in fact hardly commends itself.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

MODERN ANALOGUES TO ANCIENT TALES OF MONSTROUS RACES

In the classics we find many records of peoples to whom there have been attributed physical characteristics markedly different from our own. A few representative examples may be cited from Pliny's *Naturalis historia*. According to him (and his sources), there were tribes and nations without mouths (vii. 25); without heads (v. 46; cf. Pomp. Mela i. 8. 48); without necks and having eyes in their shoulders (vii. 23); with ears so large as to cover their bodies (iv. 95); with hairy tails (vii. 30); with dog's heads (vii. 23; cf. Aelian, *De nat. anim.* iv. 46); with orifices that served as noses (vii. 25); with feet turned backward (vii. 22; cf. 11); with horse's feet (iv. 95); with one eye, which was in the middle of the forehead (vii. 10); with one eye and one leg (vii. 23); and so on. Pliny (vii. 32) thus summarily disposes of the perplexing problem of abnormalities among men: "Haec atque talia ex hominum genere ludibria sibi, nobis miracula, ingeniosa fecit natura." Much similar material is given in small compass by Augustine *De civitate Dei* xvi. 8. The heading of the chapter reads as follows: "An ex propagine Adam vel filiorum Noë quaedam genera hominum monstrosa prodierint."

Such tales are so preposterous that one wonders how they could have originated even among ignorant people and still more how they could have been credited by learned men, but strange powers and characteristics have ever been attributed to things distant in time or space. An age uncritical about reports from afar found no reason for questioning them. They make good reading, as we see from Shakespeare's use of them in *Othello*, Act I, scene iii, verses 144-45:

The Anthropophagi, and men whose heads
Do grow beneath their shoulders.

The problem of the origin of these stories has received considerable attention from anthropologists, and rational explanations for several of them have been advanced,¹ but such aspects of this subject are beyond the scope of my note. It is my purpose merely to show with what facility the stories are created, for counterparts of ancient tales of monstrous men are still being fashioned, and even we Americans have been fabulously deprived of some bodily members and endowed with others.

In introducing his discussion of races with peculiar bodies, Pliny (vii. 6) asks: "Quis enim Aethiopus antequam cerneret credidit? Aut quid non miraculo est cum primum in notitiam venit? Quam multa fieri non posse

¹ Edward B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture* (New York, 1889), I, 379-92.

priusquam sint facta iudicantur?" Similar naïveté is shown today by backward races or by isolated villagers who are making their first contact with strangers from across the sea. Curiosity and a fertile imagination are still yielding comparable results.

Nearly three-quarters of a century ago the inhabitants of a remote village in the Lebanon Mountains gave their fancy free rein as they looked with suspicion upon some American missionaries who had settled among them:

"Those queer Americans! Why are they coming to our country?" was the query of the village women of Abeih.

"What do they want of us? Say, Elisabeth, did you hear? Why, I was told last night that those foreigners had no bones in them."

After such an announcement it was not strange that some of the wondering women tried to hold the hands of the foreigners to see whether they had bones or not.²

In a delightful book,³ *A Daughter of the Samurai* by Etsu Inagaki Sugimoto, we find Japanese servants making deductions about the strangers they saw:

There was nothing definite in my mind against America, but I was so constantly hearing allusions to the disagreeable experiences of almost all persons who had dealings with foreigners that I had a vague feeling of distaste for the unknown land. This impression was strengthened by odd stories told by servants of "red-faced, light-haired barbarians who had no heels and had to prop up their shoes with artificial blocks."

In her early years the same writer heard even more grotesque descriptions of Europeans:

... When I was a child it was a general belief among the common people of Japan that Europeans had feet like horses' hoofs, because they wore leather bags on their feet instead of sandals. That is why one of our old-fashioned names for foreigners was "one-toed fellows!"⁴

An American Negro laundress who saw Mrs. Sugimoto's children wearing foot mittens, which have a separate division for the big toe, just as our mittens have one for the thumb, made an equally amusing deduction—that the Japanese "wuz two-toed folks."⁵

The Japanese could be equally creative in stories about their own countrymen who introduced new customs, such as the drinking of milk:

... Most of the common people believed that cow's milk would influence the nature of those who drank it, and on this subject they gossiped much. We children heard from servants that Mrs. Toda's new-born baby had a tiny horn on its forehead and that its fingers were clubbed together like cow's hoofs.⁶

An Arcadian peasant who thought that American Indians were cannibals wanted to know whether they ran on all fours and whether they went naked

² Layyah A. Barakat, *A Message from Mount Lebanon* (Philadelphia, 1912), p. 24.

³ (Garden City, New York, 1934), p. 62.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 222.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 223.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

or wore wolfskins. His idea of savages was drawn from the acts of werewolves.⁷

Ancient stories of men with tails (e.g. Pliny *op. cit.* vii. 30) have had modern parallels. In the sixteenth century Iohan Bale said in his *Actes of English Votaries*,⁸ "that an Englyshman now cannot travayle in an other land, by way of marchandyse or any other honest occupyng, but it is most contumeliously thrown in his tethe, that all Englishmen have tales."

Earlier in the same work Bale explains how Englishmen acquired their embarrassing tails:

Iohan Capgrave and Alexander of Esseby sayth, that for eastyne of fyshe tayles at thys Augustyne, Dorsett Shyre menne hadde tayles ever after. But Polydorus applieth it unto Kentish men at Stroud by Rochester, for cuttinge of Thomas Becket's horses tail. Thus hath England in all other land a perpetuall infamy of tayles by theyr wrytten legends of lyes, yet can they not well tell, where to bestowe them truly.

Matter-of-fact stories of human beings with tails used to be related in the Balkan Peninsula:

Another curious belief current in Albania maintains the actual existence there of men with tails, either like those of goats or of horses. Persons retaining these appendages of their remote ancestors are held to be always short and broad of figure, untiring workers, and endowed with great physical strength. Von Hahn was of opinion that this is not a mere vague popular superstition, but has a foundation in fact. "Soliman of Dragoti, one of my cavasses at Ioannina," he says [*Albanesische Studien* (Jena, 1854), pp. 163-64], "maintained that in his part of the country tailed men of this sort were often to be seen, and that he had himself a tailed cousin, whom he had often, in youth, when bathing together, pulled by this gift of nature. An even more trustworthy authority, Theodoris, who had in his younger days been a klepht on Pindus, related that in his band there was, for several years, an undersized, broad-shouldered, fair-complexioned man, called Kapitan Yannaki (Captain Johnny), who was reputed to possess a tail. In order to convince themselves of the truth of this report, half a dozen of his comrades (for he was uncommonly strong) had fallen upon him together when he was taking his noon-nap, and he himself had taken part in this ocular inspection. He distinctly remembered seeing a goat-like tail about four finger-breadths long, covered on the outer side with short reddish-coloured hairs." M.⁹ Von Hahn's endeavours to see for himself such a *lusus naturae* were in vain, and the Turkish military surgeons, who inspected annually hundreds of recruits from all parts of the country, confessed that no specimen of the tailed men had ever come under their notice.¹⁰

⁷ J. C. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* (Cambridge, 1910), p. 240.

⁸ Quoted by John Horne Tooke, *The Diversions of Purley* (London, 1857), p. 216.

⁹ Von Hahn's initials are J. G. I have not seen his book.

¹⁰ Lucy M. J. Garnett, *The Women of Turkey and Their Folk-Lore: The Jewish and Moslem Women* (London, 1891), pp. 278-79. An excellent example of a contemporary belief that human beings may have tails is given by S. M. Lambert, *A Yankee Doctor in Paradise* (Boston, 1941), p. 61.

According to Pliny (as already quoted), the ancients who had not seen the Ethiopians found it hard to believe in their existence, but today isolated tribes hesitate to credit what they actually do see. Not infrequently races with dark skins conclude that the whiteness of visitors among them is due to something that has been applied to their skins, as did a cannibal chieftain in the New Hebrides on seeing a white woman for the first time:

Curious! Apparently the whiteness of my skin puzzled the big black man. With guttural grunts he first tried rubbing it off. This failing, he picked up a bit of rough cane and scraped my skin with it, and was astonished, apparently, when it turned pink. Shaking his head he then took off my hat and looked at my hair. It was yellow, and I suppose this also puzzled him. He parted it and peered down at my scalp, then he pulled it hard—then he turned me around, tilted my head forward and looked at the back of my neck.¹¹

Some Japanese girls manifested equal astonishment on becoming acquainted with an American woman:

You would smile to see their curiosity concerning me. They think my waist is very funny and they measure it with their hands and laugh aloud. One girl asked me in all seriousness if I had pieces cut out of my sides, and another wanted to know if my hair used to be black. You see in all this big city I am the only person with golden tresses, and a green carnation would not excite more comment.¹²

I believe that I have given enough modern stories of physical abnormalities to show clearly the attitude of mind of those who created the ancient ones. Some of them arose from misunderstandings or sheer ignorance and inexperience with the world. The boy who thought that a king had "a head at both ends"¹³ because his sole conception of a king had been derived from playing cards was hardly more credulous than the simple-minded people who interpreted literally the epithet "cynocephali" as applied to some inhabitants of India.¹⁴ Other stories were doubtless due to the scorn or the jests of superior or perhaps conquering races. Tails, for instance, have been often foisted upon subjugated peoples by dominant races who despised them.¹⁵ My collection

¹¹ Osa Johnson, *I Married Adventure* (Philadelphia, 1940), p. 121. See also pp. 150, 176, 352. For similar experiences see D. van der Meulen, "Into Burning Hadhramaut," *National Geographic Magazine*, LXII (1932), 397, and Freya Stark, *The Southern Gates of Arabia: A Journey in the Hadhramaut* (London, 1936), pp. 238, 252, 256. See also E. S. McCartney, "Folk Tales Which Explain How the Races of Mankind Acquired Their Colors," *Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters*, XXIII (1938), 37-61.

¹² Frances Little (pseudonym of Mrs. Fannie Caldwell Macaulay), *The Lady of the Decoration* (New York, 1906), p. 31.

¹³ A man whose boyhood corresponded with the era of hobble skirts recently confessed that he had almost reached seventeen years of age before he realized that women had legs. A girl who had seen but one goose, a one-legged one on her grandmother's farm, grew to womanhood without learning that normal geese have two legs.

¹⁴ Tylor, *op. cit.*, I, 389.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 383.

of examples reveals how easy it is for distorted impressions of foreigners to arise among peasants and savages. They make us realize what a phenomenon strangers from distant lands are to men who see them for the first time. They enable us to read with greater understanding, and perhaps with deeper interest, the ancient accounts of tribes supposed to have had bodies different from our own. It was not until the world was thoroughly explored that science banished monstrous human races to the realm of fancy, but those whom science has not yet reached may still create counterparts of the ancient tales of men with physical peculiarities.

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PINDAR *OLYMPIAN* vi. 82-88

δόξαν ἔχω τιν' ἐπὶ γλώσσα λιγυρᾶς ἀκόνας,
 ἃ μ' ἐθέλοντα προσέλκει καλλιρόοισι πνοαῖς.
 ματρομάτωρ ἐμὰ Στυμφαλῖς, εὐανθῆς Μετώπα,
 πλάξιππον ἃ Θήβαν ἔτικτεν, τὰς ἑρατεινὸν ὕδωρ
 πίομαι, ἀνδράσιν αἰχματαῖσι πλέκων
 ποκίλον ὕμνον. ὄτρυνον νῦν ἑταίρους,
 Αἰνέα, πρῶτον μὲν Ἥραν Παρθενίαν κελαδῆσαι¹

The celebrated first line has been more often debated by students of poetical diction than any other in Pindar; is it not grotesque to describe inspiration by saying "I have a certain feeling upon my tongue as of a shrill whetstone"? Various replies or palliatives have been offered. Jebb² in his well-known essay remarks that, just as to Greek ears *ναῦς* meant "the swimmer," so our poet could describe (vs. 91) the teacher of a chorus as a *κρατήρ* because that meant "mixer" rather than merely "bowl"; and so here he could call inspiration "the sharpener." That goes too far; we may at least doubt whether *ναῦς* sounded like "a swimmer" to Greek ears, which surely felt no jar in such a remark as ἡ *ναῦς* ἐξ ὕλης συνέστηκεν. More useful is the suggestion of Gildersleeve, elaborated by Pearson³ thus: "γλώσσα was familiarly and freely associated and sometimes identified with a sharp striking instrument." (The best instance is *Pyth.* i. 86: ἀφενδεῖ δὲ πρὸς ἄκμονι χάλκευε γλώσσαν.)

But even after accepting this imperfect palliative, we are not at the end of our troubles. Where else can we find such a meaning for *δόξα* as is here as-

¹ The reading is Schroeder's, except in two particulars. I have taken Wilamowitz' *λιγυρᾶς ἀκόνας* instead of the manuscripts' ἄλ.; it is so easy to avoid hiatus here that one can hardly believe Pindar did not. *προσέλκει*, quite apart from any theories of my own, seems a good deal better than *προσέρπει*, for *ἐθέλοντα* suggests that we need a verb which sounds *prima facie* in some way objectionable. (Since Sandys is usually the most careful of men, it is perhaps worth while to remark that *προσέρπει* cannot mean "stealth over" but only "approacheth." It is time we banished the "*ἔρπω* = crawl" error.)

² *JHS*, III, 171.

³ *CR*, 1931, p. 210.

sumed?⁴ Between a "fancy" which is indeed a mistake but a real mistake and a "feeling" which does not in fact exist at all but is untruthfully alleged in order to express a quite different truth, a clear difference should be observed. The former of these senses can belong to δόξα, the latter surely not. In Aesch. *Choeph.* 1048 ff., Orestes exclaims that he sees the Furies. The Chorus-Leader reassures him: *τίνες σὲ δόξαι στροβοῦσιν*—meaning "they are an hallucination." He answers: *οὐκ εἰσὶ δόξαι . . . σαφῶς γάρ. . . .* "No hallucination! I see them." But the hallucination is real as a hallucination; so, when I say: "Last night I dreamed that I met Napoleon," I am telling the truth. But the sense here claimed for δόξα is the second of those mentioned above. No one believes Pindar to mean that he really thinks he has a whetstone on his tongue. His supposed meaning is analogous, not to "I see the Furies," but to our phrase "I feel as if I were walking on air," which has no degree of truth whatever and is only a poetical device to convey something else: namely, a state of soul. And it is (at best) highly doubtful whether δόξαν ἔχειν could be used in this sense. Is δόξαν ἔχω ὡς ἀεροβατῶν conceivable with that meaning? It would rather mean: "I have the impression that I am walking on air"—a very different thing, hardly intelligible except in an advertisement of shoes.

The verse is best explained thus: "In addition to my power of song, I have high repute as a trainer of others in music." That γλώσσα can have this meaning is beyond dispute: in *Nem.* iv. 7 f., for instance,

ὅ τι κε σὺν χαρίτων τύχα
γλώσσα φρενὸς ἐξέλοι βαθείας,

no other meaning can be attached to it; and in certain other passages it is better so to understand it than as "tongue." Next, the sense "in addition to my poetry" is well supported by the use of ἐπὶ in *Ol.* ii. 10 f., *πλουτόν τε καὶ χάριν ἄγων γνησίαις ἐπ' ἀρεταῖς* and *Nem.* vi. 58, *πέμπτον ἐπὶ εἰκοσι*. That ἀκόνα in the sense of "trainer" would be felt as natural is suggested by *Isth.* vi. 72 f., *ἐν ἀεθληταῖσι . . . Ναξίαν . . . χαλκοδάμαντ' ἀκόναν*,⁵ whereon the Scholiast remarks, *τοσούτον οὖν φησι τῶν ἄλλων ἀλειπτῶν διαφέρειν ἐν τοῖς ἀθληταῖς ὅσον ἐν ἄλλαις ἀκόνας αἱ Νάξιαι διαφέρουσιν*. This "trainer" explanation has been accepted, among modern scholars, by Mezger, Tycho Mommsen,

⁴ By all, apparently, except Wilamowitz, who suggested (*Isyllos*, p. 167 f., in *Phil. Untersuch.*, Vol. IX) that δόξα means "opinion" here—a belief that Pindar, like Hagesias, has *μάτροες ἄνδρες* who live in Stymphalus; the belief had no sure foundation, or Pindar would not speak of a mere δόξα. But that would be quite unlike Pindar; he is never tentative in such matters, being (as he so often tells us, e.g., in *Ol.* i. 36) fully possessed of the facts.

For the rest, Wilamowitz puts a comma after γλώσσα, none after ἀκόνας, reads *προσέρπει*, and takes the whole of *λιγυρᾶς . . . προαῖς* as dependent on δόξα. As to the resultant syntax of ἀκόνας he is obscure; I append his translation. "Ich habe eine sage auf der zunge, die kommt zu mir getragen von anmutigen hauche, und so willig ich schon selbst bin, schärft sie mir noch die zunge wie ein schriller wetzstein."

⁵ Cf. the use of *θήγω* in *Ol.* x. 20 and, of course, Horace *AP* 304 f.

and Fraccaroli, to mention no others. Then, if *ἀκόνα* could be applied to training athletes, why not to training the leader of a chorus? *λυγυρᾶς*, which on the customary view is not so much otiose as rather disagreeable, suggesting the noise made by a whetstone, now becomes excellent. It is a corrective epithet;⁶ just as in *εὐκλέας ὀϊστούς* (*Ol.* ii. 90) the adjective corrects or adjusts the normal meaning of the noun—"arrows that confer, not death, but immortality"—so, here, the effect of *λυγυρᾶς* is "I am a trainer, but in music, not athletics." Finally, *δόξαν τινά* is in no way apologetic or depreciatory, which of course would be ruinous; on the contrary, *τις* in several Pindaric passages gives greater impressiveness, the best example being *Nem.* i. 13, *σπεῖρὲ νυν ἀγλαΐαν τινὰ νάσσω*.⁷

"Not only am I a poet: I have notable fame as a trainer in music." Why this? Because he is about to give instructions to Aeneas, who is to preside over the performance of this ode. First Pindar mentions his own part, *ἀνδράσιν αἰχματαῖσι πλέκων ποικίλον ὕμνον*; then he gives his commands to Aeneas. Nothing could better suit our explanation of the first line. But what of the intervening words? *ἃ μ' ἐθέλοντα κτέ.* means that his repute as a trainer involves him in a task that might seem (and perhaps really was) less pleasant than composition⁸—"draws me on to sweetly flowing airs"—that is, to rehearsals of the music.⁹ Next, he finds here the best place to mention his own legendary origin, because it is appropriate to a lyric writing of Arcadia; let our southern kinsmen learn that, Boeotians as we are, we, too, spring from Arcadia—*non obtusa adeo gestamus pectora*. But he has another reason. That sentence begins with the compound *ματρομάτωρ*; he is hinting at a comparison between Iamus and himself—Metopa, Theba, Pindar; Pitana, Evadna, Iamus. Furthermore, both men have a double gift: one, a *θησαυρὸς δίδυμος μαντοσύνας* (vss. 65 f.); the other, inspiration and the power to impart it.

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

GILBERT NORWOOD

TWO NOTES ON MENANDER

Epitrepontes 1–5 (Körte³). In a recent discussion of this passage,¹ Professor H. Fraenkel has pointed out the difficulty of interpretation involved in the words *βιάζεται . . . ἐαυτόν* and has offered an explanation which seems to me not entirely convincing. In offering a substitute here, I would make two slight alterations in Körte's text, one by replacing the inserted *<δέ>* of Cobet's in line 2, by *<μή>*, which was Cobet's original suggestion,

⁶ See *CQ*, 1915, pp. 79, 81.

⁷ Cf. *Ol.* viii. 25; *Pyth.* iii. 63; and the opening of Theocritus' First Idyll, *ἀδὲ τῷ ψιθύρισμα . . .*

⁸ Cf. n. 1 above.

⁹ Bowra's reading, *προσέλκει*, no punctuation after *προαῖς*, and Hartung's *καὶ μ'* for the manuscripts' *ἃ μ'*, is in this respect easier: "Metopa inspires me to sing."

¹ *AJP*, LVIII (1937), 456–57.

and the other by changing the punctuation after *ἐαυτὸν* in line 5 from a period to a question mark. The passage will now read as follows:

ἄνθρωπος οἶνον. αὐτὸ τοῦτ' ἐκπλήτ[τομαι
 ἔγωγ'. ὑπὲρ τοῦ <μῆ> μεθύσκε(σ)θ' οὐ λέγω
 ἀπιστία γάρ ἐσθ' ὅμοιον τοῦτό γε,
 εἰ καὶ βιάζεται κοτύλην τις τοῦβόλ[ου
 ὠνούμενος πίνειν ἐαυτὸν;

As Körte pointed out,² wine at an obol for a κοτύλη is extremely expensive. Therefore the general idea in the mind of the miserly Smicrines seems to me to be this: "My son-in-law Charisius has been throwing away money on horribly expensive wines. Yet people say he hasn't got drunk. That doesn't surprise me. I can readily believe that when a person has spent that much money on wine, he would have to force himself in order to drink, and thus waste forever, even a half-pint of the precious stuff, and of course he couldn't get drunk on that!"

As a formal translation of the passage I would suggest the following: "[To think of the money, twenty-four drachmae per μετρήτης, that has been spent by the] fellow on his wine! This in itself is what shocks me! As for his failure to get drunk, I have nothing to say, because, really is this point anything like incredible, even if a man does force himself to drink a half-pint that he has paid an obol for?"

In favor of this reading and interpretation we may note (1) the slightly greater paleographic probability of the omitted <μῆ>; (2) the retention of the usual meaning "even if" for *εἰ καὶ*; (3) the natural reference of *αὐτὸ τοῦτο* (l. 1) and *τοῦτό γε* (l. 3) to preceding ideas; (4) the subtle Menandrian humor which makes the miserly Smicrines regard the distaste for wine on the part of his heavy-hearted son-in-law as the natural reaction of a man who for some reason has been mad enough to spend an unreasonable amount of money on it in the first place.

The date of the *Samia*. Van Leeuwen³ notes that this play, with its implied reference to the displacement of the Athenian cleruchs following the "freeing" of Samos by Perdicas in 323/2 (cf. Diod. Sic. xviii. 18. 9 and Diog. Laert. *Vit. phil.* x. 1) seems to have been produced "inter primas poetae fabulas." It is perhaps possible to date the play even more precisely. If Chrysis was one of the impoverished refugees who came to Athens *ἐν συνδονίῃ* (l. 163) to be the concubine of Demeas, we must allow some time to elapse before her arrival, since the displacement of the Athenians was probably not immediate. If we allow several months or even a year to permit her to make her way to Athens and establish herself in the house of Demeas, we can assume that her new life began possibly in 322/1. Then, since she has borne

² *Gnomon*, I (1925), 22.

³ *Menandri fabularum reliquiae*³ (Leyden, 1919), pp. 97-98; cf. W. E. Blake, "Conclusion of the *Samia* of Menander," *TAPA*, LV (1924), xxv-xxvi.

a child to Demeas (ll. 50-52), we must add nearly a year more. Thus the conditions assumed in the play will fit the year 321/20. Finally, it is likely that Menander made use of this topical situation at the time when his public was most thoroughly familiar with the conditions portrayed and before the proclamation of Polyperchon in 319, which promised the restoration of Samos to Athens (Diod. Sic. xviii. 56. 7). It seems, then, reasonable to set the date of production of the *Samia* fairly definitely, about 320/19 B.C.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

WARREN E. BLAKE

EPICETUS AND NERO'S COINAGE

In Arrian's *Discourses of Epictetus* iv. 5. 17, the philosopher is made to say *τίνος ἔχει τὸν χαρακτήρα τοῦτο τὸ τετράσσαρον; Τραϊανῷ; φέρε. Νέρωνος; ῥῖψον ἔξω, ἀδόκιμόν ἐστιν, σαπρόν.*

The sense of the words is clear enough: "Whose image has this sestertius? Trajan's? Take it! Nero's? Throw it out, it is bad, worthless." But the passage is puzzling, because in so vividly pointing out that a man's character colors our estimate of his works,¹ the philosopher seems to imply that the coinage of Nero (at any rate in bronze) was not current in his day. To a numismatist a general suppression of the coinage of Nero is almost incredible. The evidence of finds—indeed, all we know of the ancient coinage—indicates that Nero's money circulated after his death in most parts of the Empire. Yet Epictetus was an eminently practical person and must have assumed his remark would be understood by his hearers.

I believe that the passage can be explained simply enough, without demanding anything so improbable as a general suppression of the coinage of Nero. It will be recalled that the regulation of bronze and copper was a prerogative of the Roman Senate. I believe that in the theoretically free cities of the provinces, the local governing bodies assumed control of the bronze currency acceptable within the limits of the towns. And I believe the local Senate of Nicopolis in Epirus had indulged in a local suppression of the coinage of Nero, which probably extended to Roman issues as well as its own, as far as bronze was concerned.

Upon suppression of a coinage three things were possible: Pieces condemned might be thrown away or melted up; they might be countermarked and reissued; or they might be specially mutilated by total erasure of the portrait (known in the case of Geta), of the name, or even of both name and portrait (known in the case of Maximinus), before reissue.

Instances may be cited of the countermarking of the coinage of Nero. At Tripolis in Phoenicia we find the local bronze of Nero bearing three different counterstamps, clearly the monograms of Galba, Otho, and Vespasian.²

¹ See W. A. Oldfather's note in the Loeb edition *Epictetus*, II, 336. Elizabeth Carter assumed a suppression of Nero's coinage in a note to her English version, which is widely circulated.

² See *British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins, Phoenicia, Tripolis*, Nos. 39, 41, 42.

These argue that Tripolis revalidated Neronic coins. Recently an instance of erasure of the name alone has come to my attention. I have a small bronze of Nero, struck at Cyme in Aeolis (of the types of *BMC Troas*, etc., Cyme No. 128), from which the name is carefully erased, leaving only the not too characteristic portrait and the title CEBACTON untouched. A fine patina shows this is an ancient erasure. Of Nero's coinage at Nicopolis, few specimens are known (e.g., Mionnet, *Supplement*, III, 376, Nos. 117-19) and I have not met with record of a counterstamp or mutilated specimen. Although the material is insufficient for absolute certainty, one may assume there was a fairly complete local suppression and that the coins were ordered to be thrown away. But the habit of natives trying to pass bad or obsolete coins on strangers (such as newly arrived students) is well known. The image used by Epictetus may have been vivid enough to many of his hearers. Epictetus showed an interest in the detection of counterfeits (*Discourses* i. 20. 8-9); and I believe his Neronic reference has proved troublesome only because (like a reference in *Discourses*, iv. 1. 14) it concerns a local custom, not the custom of the world.

THOMAS OLLIVE MABBOTT

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A REPLY

The Editor,
Classical Philology

March 3, 1941

DEAR SIR:

Will you allow me to correct some statements of fact in the review of my book *The Stranger at the Gate* (*Class. Phil.*, January, 1941).

Your reviewer says that the author finds in Greece "Snobbery towards barbarians, selfish aggression and exploitation among themselves, futile ideals of union, justice and co-operation."

This creates a totally wrong impression. The book deals with the ancient attitude to the stranger, and care is taken to show that in this respect the Ionians, the sixth-century Athenians, the fourth century, and Alexander adopted a liberal attitude; indeed, the Ionians anticipated Alexander in his conception of the unity of mankind. It is then shown that *in practice* the Romans had more success with this idea than the Greeks. The reviewer complains that "the splendid achievements of the Greeks . . . are all but ignored"; but these achievements are in no way denied; only, they do not form part of the theme. My appreciation of the achievement of Hellas may be found in *Life and Thought in the Greek and Roman World* (written with Dr. M. Cary).

Lastly, as a matter of fact, the book does *not* consist of a series of lectures orally delivered.

Yours faithfully,

T. J. HAARHOFF

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND
JOHANNESBURG

BOOK REVIEWS

Les Papyrus Fouad I. Edited by A. BATAILLE, OCTAVE GUÉRAUD, PIERRE JOUGUET, NAPHTALI LEWIS, H. MARROU, JEAN SCHERER, W. G. WADDELL. ("Publications de la Société Fouad I de papyrologie: Textes et documents," Vol. III.) Le Caire: Institut française d'archéologie orientale, 1939. Pp. xii+253+8 pls.

A distinguished group of papyrologists has here presented eighty-nine numbers of a collection of papyri belonging to the Société Fouad and obtained largely through the generosity of the late King Fouad of Egypt. Of the five literary fragments which appear, No. 5 will be of the greatest interest to all teachers of Latin. It is a leaf from a book prepared for instruction in the classical Latin texts for Greek-reading students. This particular leaf presents, on *verso* and *recto*, in one column the Latin of Vergil's *Aeneid*, iii. 444-68, with a corresponding word-for-word translation into the Greek in a second column. The particular lines here preserved are a section out of Aeneas' conversation with Helenus, brother of Hector, one incident in the long account of the wanderings of Aeneas as given to Dido. The papyrus, it is true, is not unique. Similar parts of the *Aeneid* with Greek translation had already been published—in *Papyri Societ  italiana* VII 756, in *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* VIII 1099, and, quite recently, in *Rylands Papyri* III 478.

The form of presentation in all these double versions of the *Aeneid* is the same. The words of the original and the corresponding Greek terms are placed in separated columns, with one to three words in a line, the Greek always reproducing the Latin in the opposite line. Where Vergil's word order would not be confusing to the student by virtue of the hexametric sequence, the hexameter order is preserved. Where the word order would create difficulty for the learner the hexameter order is dislocated. A good example of this is iii. 449: "impulit et teneras turbavit ianua frondes." In the Latin version of P. Fouad 5 it becomes "impulit et teneras frondes turbavit ianua."

To teachers of Vergil it may be a solace to know that Greek lads also had their troubles with Vergilian word order. It is more important for ancient cultural and literary history that in the fourth and fifth centuries after Christ, from which all the extant examples come, Vergil was a school text in classics for the Greek world. It has been announced by Professor Caspar Kraemer in *Actes du V^e Congr s de papyrologie* (Brussels, 1938), pp. 239-40, that New York University has a dozen leaves from a codex which contained similar juxtaposed Latin and Greek portions of the *Aeneid*, from Books i, ii, and iv. Fortunately, the provenience of the N.Y.U. copy is certain. It is from the

ancient town of Nessana in southern Palestine—a surprising place to find Vergil taught or generally read, as the case may be.

The reading of the documents in this volume by the editorial group leaves little for the cursory reader to suggest or correct. In No. 17, lines 9-11, I would venture a change in the reading τῶν δύο ἐπιτηρητῶν σὺν ἐτέρω[ν] ν(ομῶν)?, with the cumbersome explanation which it involves, to ἐπιτηρ(ητῶν) [possibly ὠ(νῶν)] τῶν συνκυρου(σῶν) κω(μῶν) as in P Teb II 305 and PSI X 1139. These two references also deal with superintendents from Tebtunis. Rostovtzeff permits me to enter his suggestion καὶ τὰς θύρας [π]λειστάκεις ἀπαιτούμενος in lines 16-17 of No. 27, which is supported by the πλειστάκις --- ἀμφισβητήσεων γενομένων of P Oxy. II 237, col. VIII 23.

Most of the public documents of the volume are presented here for the first time. They include, of course, some of the routine and well-known types—receipts for taxes paid and for work done upon the dikes and lists of names, such as fall to the lot of all papyrus readers faithfully and conscientiously to publish. No. 68, provenience Oxyrhynchus, is a list of tax payments of four drachmas each (except in the case of a slave) made on Pachon 5 of a year in the second century A.D. It offers an interesting list of characteristic occupations of ordinary men at Oxyrhynchus, including a θύτης (diviner), the word here appearing for the first time in the papyri, and a κίναϊδος. Since this is certainly an occupational term, the meaning "rascal" given in Preisigke's *Wörterbuch* is inapplicable. Probably the man was a dancer in grotesque choreography. The editor of this document, W. G. Waddell, points out the similarity to the list of occupations from Philadelphia published as Cornell Papyrus No. 22.

Most important among the official papers is No. 21, a "copy of a memorandum" relating to the appearance at Alexandria—before the prefect, without doubt—of veterans of the legions, of the auxiliary cavalry, and of the cohorts, together with oarsmen of the fleet, comprised together under the term *μισθικοί*, that is, the soldiers and sailors who have received the *missio honesta*. What their complaint was is not clear from this abbreviated statement of their treatment by the prefect Tuscus; but it had to do with certain of their citizen privileges (l. 10: *περὶ τῆς πολιτίας*). The prefect told them—and this is an important statement—that the *ὑπόθεσις*, the basis of their demand for redress (*causa actionis*), was not the same for legionaries, for the veterans of the *alae* and of the cohorts, and for the naval veterans. Nor was the decision, which was to be rendered, the same for all. He states that he had written to the governors of the nomes and that the (unidentified) privileges in which they shared would be taken care of "according to the rights of each" class.

Jean Scherer, who edited this important document, has given it a faultless technical reading as far as the appended photograph shows (Pl. I). In the commentary he does not seem to the reviewer to strike out boldly enough.

He had seen Yale Papyrus 1528 published by C. B. Welles in *JRS*, XXVIII (1938), 41-49, which is headed "copy of an audience" of legionaries, soldiers of the cohorts, and oarsmen. The day of the meeting of the veterans with the prefect is the same, if one changes the lost day in Welles's restoration of P Yale 1528. 15 from Sebastos [6] to Sebastos [7]; and the dismissal of the veterans, each into his own *idia*, which is given verbally in the prefect's words in the Yale document, is implicit in P Fouad I 21. 15-16. In each case there had been a previous meeting with the prefect, an informal one, as shown by P Yale 1528. 17-18 (*εἶπον ὑμεῖν καὶ πρότερον* in P Fouad I 21. 11). To me it seems evident that these documents deal with the same event. They are in the one case (P Fouad I 21) the copy of an official record of the court proceedings, in the other an unofficial record made up from their memory of the events, as I believe, by the complaining veterans. Elsewhere I am proposing, in Yale 1528. 4-5, the restoration: *μὴ λέγετε ἀσεβὲς [τὰ]ρα[γ]μα* ("don't talk impious sedition") for Welles's *μὴ λέγετε ἀσεβὲς [π]ροῦ[γ]μα*. In many ways—juristically, socially, and politically—the Yale papyrus, now fortified by P Fouad 21, is a most enlightening document. On the juristic side it has already engaged the attention of Leopold Wenger in *Savigny Zeitschrift*, röm. Abt., LIX (1939), 376 ff.; but the two documents will certainly evoke further discussion when treated in combination as referring to one event.

This brief review can give but little impression of the many interesting features of the new Fouad papyri, so well and so carefully presented. Sometimes the private letters bring us sharply into contact with small folk and their lives. In No. 85, of the sixth or seventh century, a certain Paul reproaches his errant brother: "I leave aside your personal character (*ὑπόστασις*) and your reputation. . . . Nothing is left except that you come and find your bed all made. If you go to Antinoe you find Petamenaria; if to Alexandria, Sosanna; if to Herakleopolis, Urania; if to your own city, Condetaria." Here and there in the papyri one finds these small and poignant angers and sorrows of little people. According to the druggist of Glover City, New Hampshire, in *Our Town*, these are the things that are eternal. He may be right.

WILLIAM LINN WESTERMANN

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Der Text der Metamorphosen Ovids. By SIEGFRIED MENDNER. (Doktordiss., Universität Köln.) Bochum-Langendreer, 1939. Pp. 81.

This dissertation considers the text of the *Metamorphoses* in the light of certain theories concerning the vicissitudes of texts in antiquity advanced by Günther Jachmann in four recent articles.¹

¹ "Eine Elegie des Propertius: Ein Ueberlieferungsschicksal," *Rheinisches Museum*, LXXXIV (N.F.; 1935), 193-240; "Calabrae Pierides," *Philologus*, XC (1935), 331-51; "Binneninterpolation," *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* ("Philologisch-historische Klasse, Altertumswissenschaft," Band I [N.F.; 1936]), Part I, pp. 123-44; Part II, pp. 185-215.

Most ancient texts, Latin as well as Greek, asserts Jachmann, underwent considerable tampering at the hands of interpolators. In so far as Latin texts are concerned, the process began soon after the appearance of a work. After a certain period a scholarly edition would be compiled. This edition would contain all versions of the text current at the time of its composition, dubious or false passages being indicated by diacritical signs or marginal annotations. Copyists of this edition or its *apographa* misunderstood or neglected the signs and annotations, with the result that the late ancient manuscripts (the source of the medieval tradition) offered a text in which genuine and interpolated passages were bewilderingly intermingled (Jachmann, "Elegie," pp. 210-12). This being the case, recension of existing manuscripts can merely enable us to construct, to a certain extent, the text of an ancient scholarly edition, or as Mendner (n. 75) calls it, a *diplomatisch-komponierte Ausgabe*. Consequently, the critic must work his way back through the manuscripts and the ancient scholarly edition to the original text of his author, which he can recover only by purging the traditional text from the manifold interpolations of ancient diaskeuasts.

Jachmann and Mendner divide interpolations into *Ersatzfassungen*² and *Zusatzinterpolationen*. The motives of the former are various: sometimes prudery is the cause (Jachmann, "Elegie," p. 208); on other occasions, if we are to believe Mendner, who holds *Met.* viii. 606-7 too risqué for the Ovid of the *Metamorphoses* and therefore labels the passage an *Ersatzfassung*, the *Fälscher* is urged on by considerations of an opposite nature (p. 28). Often the motive is a desire to substitute the common version of a myth for a less well-known one (pp. 21-22) or to name specifically persons to whom allusion is made in the "genuine" text (Jachmann, "Binneninterpolation," Part II, pp. 194-95). The latter frequently are added to patch up a passage that had become corrupt through the error of a copyist (*ibid.*, p. 189) or are designed to fill out *aposiopeses* (*ibid.*, p. 206). In many cases, however, the purpose of the interpolator remains obscure. Jachmann ("Elegie," p. 207) says: "Wir müssen anerkennen, dass die Interpolatoren mitunter ganz aus freien Stücken und aus reiner Spielerei ihr Wesen in den Texten trieben: sie erweiterten, sie putzten auf, sie verschönten nach ihren Begriffen von Schönheit." He emphasizes that "interpolations" are not to be explained as adaptations of marginal glosses that have crept into the text. The appearance of *Binneninterpolationen* excludes this hypothesis ("Binneninterpolation," Part I, p. 125).

Mendner begins with an account of textual criticism of the *Metamorphoses* from the time of Merkel's second edition (1875). Merkel was adversely criticized because of the extraordinary number of lines he inclosed in brackets. Shortly after the appearance of his edition a reaction against bracketing set in; recent editions of the poem (Magnus, 1914; Ehwald, 1915; Fabbri, 1922-24; Lafaye, 1928-30) present few bracketed passages. Such "interpolations" as

² Jachmann insists on this term rather than on *Dittographie* or *Dittologie* ("Binneninterpolation," Part II, p. 194).

are still recognized are those of an obviously "dittological" character. Some critics have attempted, in these cases, to ascribe both versions to Ovid (the double-recension theory); latterly, however, the tendency has arisen to explain these *Parallelfassungen* without resort to the hypothesis of two recensions "womit die Kritik beim absoluten, nicht weiter unterschreitbaren Nullpunkt angelangt ist" (pp. 3-4). To reorient *die Metamorphosenkritik* in the right direction, clarity must first be thrown on the question of *Parallelfassungen*; the next objective is the rehabilitation of the discarded brackets; finally, the text must be subjected to a systematic *Reinigung* by some future editor (p. 4).

Mendner assumes for the *Metamorphoses*, after the fashion of Jächmann ("Elegie," p. 214), a late ancient *diplomatisch-komponierte Ausgabe*. Our manuscripts derive from ancient *apographa* of this *Ausgabe*. The tradition is not assembled in a medieval archetype.

Unsere Metamorphosen-Ueberlieferung ist letzten Endes einheitlich, wie schon allein die allen Hss. gemeinsamen Verderbnisse beweisen; . . . Allerdings kann die gemeinsame Urquelle unserer Hss. nicht eine mittelalterliche Hs. gewesen sein—sodass man von einen 'Archetyp' sprechen könnte—die zahlreichen Parallelversionen von Versen und Versgruppen, desgleichen die vielen und starken Abweichungen in Wortlaut und namentlich auch in Versbestand schliessen das aus. Auch eine antike Hs. bzw. Ausgabe einfacher Art genügt als Substrat hierfür nicht. Vielmehr muss sie als eine gelehrte Ausgabe diplomatischen Characters und mit entsprechender kritischer Ausstattung (Varianten, kritische Notation) gedacht werden. . . . Diese wissenschaftliche Ausgabe löste sich mit der Zeit in ihre Elemente auf, indem aus ihr populäre Ausgabe abgeleitet wurden [pp. 74-75].

Proceeding from this assumption, Mendner first attacks *mehrfältige Interpolationen* (pp. 4-17). After xi. 57 there are three verses, 57a, 57b, 57c. Verse a is found in N, U, and Heinsius' *cod. Zwick.*; b only in the *Leidensis Vossianus*; c only in the *Lucensis*. According to Mendner, these three verses are independent attempts on the part of ancient interpolators to smooth out a passage confused by the corruption of *os petit* of verse 57 (attested only by the *Amplonianus* and sundry *recentiores*) to the reading of the remaining manuscripts *obstitit*. Now b and c are undoubtedly interpolations, probably motivated by the corruption *obstitit*; despite the rejection of verse a by Ciofanus and Heinsius there seems no ground for condemning it. Surely it is farfetched to suppose on the basis of these readings that the *Lucensis* and the *Leidensis Vossianus* descend from the "ancient scholarly edition" by independent paths. Verses b and c are in all likelihood products of the late Middle Ages, possibly due to the writers of the respective manuscripts. In discussing viii. 285, 286, and the Planudean version of the latter, Mendner again assumes triple interpolation in the *Ausgabe*, and by implication separate lines of descent for the manuscripts that read verse 285 but not verse 286, those that read both, and the exemplar of Planudes. In xv. 426-30 where the manuscripts that contain Book xv are unanimous in presenting the passage as it is

printed in recent editions (with the exception of Fabbri's), Mendner argues for the existence of two sets of interpolations (426-28 and 428-30), which he avers were indicated as such in the *Ausgabe*. He tells us that if we had M and N for this part of the poem, one if not both of the "interpolations" would probably be lacking in them (p. 17).

Although Mendner upbraids Magnus and other editors for their excessive reverence for M and N and accuses them of substituting *Handschriftfetischismus* for criticism and although he contends that M and N, like the remaining manuscripts go back to corrupted *apographa* of the *Ausgabe*, he repeatedly refers to them as "die bessere Ueberlieferung" (e. g., p. 17). And, indeed, in the part of his dissertation devoted to *Ersatzfassungen*, the version of M and N regularly appears as the original reading and that of the other manuscripts as the *Ersatz* (see Mendner's treatment of i. 544 ff.; viii. 595 ff.; viii. 693 ff.; viii. 696 ff. [pp. 17-35]).

Having disposed of the passages which have been used as evidence for the double-recension theory by arguing for the existence of a genuine and a substitute version in each instance, Mendner quotes Leo's opinion on the state in which Virgil left the *Aeneid*³ and says the same thing holds true for the *Metamorphoses*. Mendner next considers *Zusatzinterpolationen*, which he discovers in great numbers. Some of the passages he excises are found in all the manuscripts; others, such as vii. 762, are attested only by the humanistic hands of l and M and therefore are not demonstrably older than the fifteenth century. But even in such cases as this Mendner holds that the "interpolations" go back to the ancient *Ausgabe* (p. 44).

Combining the *Ersatzfassungen* and the *Zusatzinterpolationen*, Mendner arrives at a total of sixty-seven *Grossinterpolationen*, of which sixteen have been suspected by no one else, in addition to sixteen *Kleininterpolationen*. Discussion of Mendner's arguments for rejecting many of these passages must be reserved for another occasion. However the treatment of *Metamorphoses* i. 508-15 affords a not unfair sample of Mendner's critical procedure:

me miserum! ne prona cadas indignave laedi
crura notent sentes, et sim tibi causa doloris!
aspera, qua properas, loca sunt: moderatius, oro,
curre fugamque inhibe! [moderatius insequar ipse.
cui placeas, inquire tamen! non incola montis,
non ego sum pastor, non hic armenta gregesque
horridus observo.] nescis, temeraria, nescis,
quem fugias, ideoque fugis. mihi Delphica tellus. . . .

All our manuscripts present the entire passage. The brackets are Mendner's. He justifies them as follows:

³ Vergil hat die Aeneis so geschrieben dass Vers und Sprache vollkommen durchgearbeitet sind, sonst hätte sie auch weder Augustus noch Varius publicirt (*Plautinische Forschungen*³, p. 41, n. 2).

Die Binneninterpolation beginnt töricht mit *moderatus insequar ipse* (511): der Gott verspricht der Nymphe, auch seinerseits das Tempo zu mässigen. Wird er sie jemals einholen? Geistreich und fein war *moderatus oro curre* (510-511) zuvor begründet worden, aber die Bitte entspricht, wie das folgende *fugamque inhibe* zeigt, nicht dem eigentlichen Wunsche Apolls. *insequar* stammt aus v. 504. *tamen* 512 ist unlogisch, ja ganz beziehungslos. Daphne möge ihr Augenmerk auf seine Person richten, bittet der Gott. Mit Nachdruck fordert er dies auch in vv. 514-515. Die abermalige Aufforderung ist verwunderlich. Mir scheint die Epinalypse der Verben *nescire* und *fugere*, deren Berechtigung man bei der überlieferten Textgestalt nicht recht sieht, darauf hinzuweisen, dass nun von etwas Neuem, ganz Wichtigem die Rede sein soll. Es folgt der Bitte in v. 512 eine Aufzählung von Menschen, mit denen Apoll, wie er betont, nichts zu tun hat. Wem gefällt die trockene *enumeratio*? Und hatte der Gott überhaupt nötig, hervorzuheben, dass er kein *horridus* (514) etc. sei? Wird nicht vielmehr Daphne aus Ansehen und Gebaren ihres Verfolgers gemerkt haben, dass kein gewöhnlicher Mensch ihrer begehre? Nein, er musste ihr nur zu verstehen geben, dass er ein Gott sei, und zwar der berühmtesten einer [pp. 60-61].

In conclusion, the Jachmann-Mendner theory of a *diplomatisch-komponierte Ausgabe* composed in late antiquity forces us to make the difficult assumption that the various manuscripts of our tradition of the *Metamorphoses* descend from antiquity to the Middle Ages by countless independent channels; the frequency of ancient interpolation is not established either by Jachmann for Latin texts in general or by Mendner for the text of the *Metamorphoses*; above all, the great quantity of "interpolations" that Mendner asserts exists in our manuscript tradition of the *Metamorphoses* is composed in great part of verses which he has failed to prove un-Ovidian; the infrequent "genuine" interpolations scattered through his catalogue can much more plausibly be ascribed to the late medieval period or sometimes even to the Renaissance than to antiquity.

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Les Assemblées de la Confédération achaienne: étude critique d'institutions et d'histoire. By ANDRÉ AYMARD. ("Bibliothèque des universités du Midi," Fasc. XXI.) Bordeaux: Férét & Fils, éds., 9 Rue de Grassi, 1938. Pp. xv+450.

Les premiers rapports de Rome et de la Confédération achaienne (198-189 avant J.-C.). By ANDRÉ AYMARD. ("Bibliothèque des universités du Midi," Fasc. XXII.) Bordeaux: Férét & Fils, éds., 9 Rue de Grassi, 1938. Pp. xvi+438.

In these studies Aymard has performed the unusual feat of bringing out practically simultaneously two volumes on two of the most difficult and controversial subjects in Greco-Roman history. Yet the subjects are so closely related that this procedure was natural for a scholar who had devoted many years to preliminary work. Both volumes show evidence of long and patient research, careful workmanship, extensive and almost complete knowledge of

the earlier literature, critical ability, and constructive interpretation. They will both long be cited as among the most valuable contributions to the subjects under consideration. *Les premiers rapports* is in every way a distinct success. *Les Assemblées* shows good workmanship but suffers from some fundamental weaknesses which diminish its value.

In *Les Assemblées* Aymard, though he gives adequate consideration to other phases of Achaean institutions, appears first and foremost to have tried to solve the vexed problem of the Achaean *synodos*. This body, he concludes, was not a representative assembly but a primary assembly open to all citizens of the League. This conclusion is based on an extremely detailed and candid examination of the evidence; but the entire investigation is vitiated, it seems to me, by mistakes on a certain number of fundamental points. Thus, in spite of all the looseness of the terminology employed by Polybius, it seems impossible to believe with Aymard that he may not have used *boule* as a technical term for a smaller council but may have applied it to any deliberative assembly (pp. 62 ff., 152-56). It is not a question of the etymology of the word but of Greek usage, and here nothing seems more constant than the use of *boule*, when applied to an organism of the state, to designate a smaller council in opposition to a primary assembly. It also seems to be a mistake to assume that a *boule* in the technical sense must be a probouleutic body (pp. 144 and 156). To be sure, this is normal, but what about the four *boulai* of the Boeotians which had "complete supreme authority" (Thuc. v. 38. 2) or the *boule* of the government of the Five Thousand at Athens (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 30. 3-4)? These two examples taken from an earlier period prove nothing concerning the exact nature of any institution of the second century, but they do prove that it was possible to apply the name *boule* to a body which had final and not merely probouleutic authority.

Also the arguments based on the fact that the Achaean League was democratic can be challenged. Aymard insists that from the Greek point of view there could be no democracy unless the citizens had a right to act directly on questions of state without any intermediary (pp. 56, 399-400). This practically means that, since the Achaean League was a democracy, an assembly as important as the *synodos* must have been a primary assembly. Such an interpretation of democracy may be in accordance with the ideas of the fifth and fourth centuries, but the connotation of the word may have changed by the second century. Here the important point is to determine not how the word was used in theoretical discussions but how it was applied by Polybius and men of his age to contemporary states. A key is supplied by a statement of Polybius (xxxi. 2. 12) in which he refers to the government of the four Macedonian republics as democratic and at the same time implies that they possessed representative government. That the government of these republics actually was representative is indicated by Livy's account of their establishment (see particularly Livy xlv. 32. 2; cf. *Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, IV, 298). The study of the meaning of democracy in this period can be

carried further—and I hope to do so in the near future—but what has been given is enough to show that Polybius could and did describe a state with representative government as democratic and that the alleged democracy of the Achaean League does not prove that the *synodos* was a primary assembly.

On the question of the use of the comparative method for the study of political institutions Aymard is right in theory. The method is indispensable for determining the general tendencies but, on account of the great variety of details, is dangerous when applied to the solution of the particular points (pp. 18–20; cf. p. 400). Nevertheless, his skepticism probably is carried too far. Thus he hesitates to commit himself on the question whether the Achaean cities possessed equality of vote or votes in proportion to their size in the *synkletos* (pp. 381–86). The examples cited for equality of vote are the Peloponnesian and Athenian *symmachies*; for proportional vote, the Macedonian *symmachy* (the Hellenic League founded by Philip II) and the Aetolian and Lycian leagues (p. 382, n. 3). These examples themselves show a progressive development toward the proportional system. Moreover, this system was used by the only real federal states listed, while the examples cited for equality are early *symmachies*. Thus these examples themselves supply, if not absolute, at least some 95 per cent, certainty for the use of the proportional system in the Achaean League.

Naturally, the criticisms so far made do not disprove Aymard's theory, but they are so fundamental that they suggest that the mass of evidence needs to be re-examined from a different point of view. Nevertheless, the discussion of many a vexed problem is extremely useful. Particularly valuable are the discussions of constitutional changes and of the development of the *synkletos*.

Les premiers rapports can be praised with much less reservation. It illuminates in an admirable way both Roman policy in Greece during the period and the difficulties that faced the local states at this time when their entire future depended on the will of Rome. The account is full, but the narrative direct, interesting, and well proportioned. For problems connected with Achaean institutions the reader is referred to *Les Assemblées*, while other difficult questions are discussed in footnotes that sometimes almost assume the character of short articles. Probably the chief difficulty is that the author frequently has to rely on reconstruction and analysis in order to determine policies and purposes. Naturally, on such points there is room for disagreement, and, naturally, one may also at times quarrel with the author concerning the interpretation of some details of the evidence. Nevertheless, there remains much that is solidly founded on good evidence, while, at the same time, the author's judgment is sound on broader issues. He undoubtedly is right in insisting that the policy of the Romans throughout was selfish and in refusing to ascribe to them any romantic Philhellenism. Nevertheless, he at times gives an unusually favorable interpretation of the policy of Flamininus, for instance, in his defense of the peace with Nabis in 195. To restore exiles at Sparta would have produced civil war, to incorporate Sparta in Achaia would have done too great

violence to Spartan feelings; compared with these solutions the plan adopted was a lesser evil (pp. 242-44). Aymard also does well in pointing out that Rome again and again took the direction and settlement of affairs completely into her own hands. As for the Achaeans, after they had gone over to the Romans, they at first were completely docile, but later Philopoemen and his party adopted the policy "tout le traité, mais rien que le traité" (p. 376). The Romans, in turn, after their victory at Thermopylae, demonstrated that the Achaeans were not to be permitted to have an independent policy; the League, in theory an equal ally, was expected to act as a client and ward of Rome (p. 388).

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The Pronunciation of Greek and Latin. By EDGAR H. STURTEVANT. 2d. ed. Philadelphia: Linguistic Society of America, 1940. Pp. 192. \$3.00.

In the matter of their aitches, speakers of English, it has been said, fall into three classes: the anxious, the confident, and the indifferent. So did speakers of Latin and of most of the dialects of Greek (see Sturtevant, pp. 24, 72, 158). Arrius belonged to the anxious, the Argives and Delphians to the indifferent.

Take, for example, not only Catullus lxxxiv but also ἀκέομαι, ἀκέομαι, a word for which the dictionaries cite no cognates that can be considered even probable apart from Keltic congeners of Welsh *iach*. One suggestion has been strangely overlooked. Giles connected ἀκέομαι with ἀκίς, "splinter," ἀκή, "point, pin"; and, if that is right, then the meaning "mend, repair" in ἀκέομαι is older than the meaning "heal, cure." This explanation is strengthened by comparison with Ven. *akeo*, prominent in a cult in which the devotees also made offerings of pins. An obstacle to comparison with Welsh *iach* lies in the absence of *i*- in the Venetic form (cf. Latin *acus*, *acies*); but it has been maintained that Greek ἀκέομαι stands for ἀκέομαι with a "well-attested" rough breathing. Does it? Or is it a matter of misplaced aspirates?

The rough breathing of ἀκέομαι is "well-attested" (CR, LI [1937], 193) only in a special sense. That is to say, there is no dispute about it where it does occur. But where does it occur? So far as I know, ἀκέομαι, ἄκος, ἀκεστήρ, ἀκέστωρ, ἄκεστρον, and the rest, are all certain; but there is the Delphian compound ἐφακέομαι, and there is the Argolic compound ἀφακέομαι. Yes, and there is Delph. ἐφιορκέω and Epid. πενθ' ἔτη and Phoc. μεθόπια and there is Arg. ἐγκαθιδών and καθ' ἰδίαν. There are also cases of false aspiration in a few simple forms (Delph. ἥεντε, ἥενατός and Arg. ἡδιδῶ, ἡἔ as well as ἧ = Att. ἦ, *Haisklaπίει*). However, there is also loss of the initial aspirate, e.g., Arg. ἰκέτας beside καθικετεύσας, ἀμέρα (cf. ἐπάμερον), ἄτερος, ὥρος = Att. ὄρος, ἰαρομνάμονες, and Epid. ἰαρομνύμονες, for, as Kieckers puts it (*Gr. Dial.* [1932], p. 117, cf. p. 268), "die Orthographie ist inkonsequent" and sins by way

¹ P. Giles, *Proc. Cambridge Philol. Soc.* [Eng.], C-CII (1915), 14-15.

of both omission and commission. Buck also, I see, still counts "Delph. ἐφαέομαι from ἀέομαι" among the words which properly have the lenis but "show secondary forms with the asper in various dialects" (*Gr. Dial.* [1928], p. 50). This does not settle ἀέομαι's business, to be sure; but it is a warning not to start with a cockney pronunciation if you want to get at its etymology.

It has been observed by a better scholar than I that Catullus lxxxiv falls flat unless the misaspiration is varied. There is no manuscript authority for the Vulgate *chommoda*, which is due to Calpurnius, or *hinsidias*, which is due to Politian. The former may stand; but if *Hionios* (v. 12) is kept—and it must be, as E. Harrison has shown (*CR*, XXIX [1915], 199)—then the "joke" must be varied at line 4. I venture to suggest *insidihas*. Such a misspelling (and for Arrius at least, mispronunciation) has many an exemplar in Vulgar Latin inscriptions,² from which I cull the following:

dehe [i.e., *deae*], *Lahis*, *huhic*, *suhae*, *Danahes* (E. Diehl, *VI. Inschr.*, 1233), *mehae* (*ibid.*, 398), *Athenahidi* (400), *pihi* (F. Buecheler, *Carm. epigr.*, 541, 11), *cohiuugi* (Diehl, 397), *Bohillae* (Βοίλλαι, *Bouillae*, Nonius, 122), *claharus* (apparently for *clauarius*, *CIL*, VI, 9259), *Taehodosus* (i.e., *Theodosius*, E. Diehl, *Inscr. christ.*, 3967, n.), though this last may not be quite the same thing.

In all these words (except possibly the last) *h* is a spirant glide, presumably *ɣ*, or a substitute for it. In the utterance of some speakers the glide may actually have become *h*, and, if my conjecture is right, that is what had happened with Arrius. In two of my examples, at least, *h* has taken the place of *y*, which had been lost between like vowels or when preceded by a labial (cf. Vulgar Latin *paor* for *pauor*, *paimentum*, Ital. *Faenza* for *Fauentia*).

This is not the place to say anything about *nihil* and *nil*. But there is always *ahenus*, and anxiety over *mihi* grew so great as to produce *michi* (cf. *nichil*), *mici*, and *migi*. *Nahartis* beside *Nartis* in "Umbrian" territory may have -*aha*- merely for -*ā*-, as many hold, but "Umbrian," which so uses *h* (as a mark of length), also has *h* at the hiatus, e.g., *ahesnes*, "aenis," *pihaz*, "piatus," *stahu*, "sto"; so has Oscan (*stahint*, "stant"), Venetic (*kātu-s-iahio-s* with the ending written in Latin -*aius*, cf. *koliahiila*, *vo-t-tehiios*), Messapic (*laidehiabas* dat. or loc. pl., *orrahetis*, "Uritis," from *orra*, "Uria," cf. the frequent gen. sg. of *ā*-stems -*ahi*), "East Italic" (?) *ueheia* (*PID*, II, p. 251), and occasionally Gallic spelling of Latin inscriptions (see A. Holder, *Altkelt. Sprachsch.*, I [Leipzig, 1896], s.v. *h*). Last of all (Varro, *RR* i. 2. 14) "rustici . . . uiam ueham appellant." Catullus might have found ample warrant for *insidihas*—but then his ancient readers did not need it, especially if, at Verona and in near-by towns, any trace of pronunciations like the -*ahio-s* for -*aius* was still familiar to them. The *insidihashe* of manuscripts of Catullus³ probably arose as

² See F. Sommer, *Lat. Laut- u. Formenlehre*, p. 192; W. M. Lindsay, *LL*, p. 54; M. Niedermann ap. [D.] in *Thes. Ling. Lat.*, s.v. *h* (VI, 3 [1936], 2390.56–2391.2) for the words to which references are not given. The others I have noted myself.

³ The apparatus has:

"2 hinsidias Politian insidias he GO (hee O) insidias M 4 insidias GOM"

a correction of *insidias* when the copy from which our MSS descend was compared with its archetype.

Sturtevant (p. 158) quotes the vulgate of Catullus lxxxiv fully and translates it, as he translates all Greek and Latin texts which he quotes, so "complete" is his treatment of this and every other problem of ancient pronunciation that he discusses. I have devoted my space to the aitches for that reason, and for one other. The other reason is that there really is nothing for a reviewer to add, after the praise of the publishers (a corporate body, membership in which on the part of the author is "à propos de bottes"), praise in the most approved style of advertisement of the day, that the work is "standard," "authoritative," "up-to-date." Well, I have added that it is "complete." But it omits the matter of $\sigma\sigma$:- $\tau\tau$ -, on which see Schwyzer, *Gr. Gram.*, p. 318.

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The Emperor Claudius. By VINCENT M. SCRAMUZZA. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940. Pp. 328. \$3.75.

In Professor Scramuzza's own words, "the purpose of this study is not primarily to unearth new data on Claudius' reign but to seek new light on the motives and principles that actuated his administration." The net result is a very scholarly treatment of the life and imperial policies of the fourth *princeps*. Certainly, Professor Scramuzza has examined all the significant literary and archeological evidence for Claudius' reign, and he is well acquainted with modern research on the subject.

The primary problem in dealing with Claudius is one of the evaluation and interpretation of the sources. Professor Scramuzza is definitely committed to the theory that the anti-Claudian literature of antiquity is prejudiced and unfair, whereas the inscriptions and other archeological evidence are absolutely reliable and complete enough to prove that Claudius was able to handle domestic and foreign affairs with great acumen. This is an important point which merits some discussion.

First of all, among the literary sources one has to consider the *Ad Polybium de consolatione* and the *Apocolocyntosis* of Seneca. The first work, written during the reign of Claudius, praises the emperor highly; the second, composed after Claudius' death, is a malicious satire. Obviously, Seneca was in both cases determined to curry favor at the expense of the truth. Perhaps both the *Ad Polybium* and the *Apocolocyntosis* contain some elements which are not false and misleading, but what elements the modern historian employs or rejects in his reconstruction must necessarily be determined by his own general attitude toward Claudius.

In the case of the anti-Claudian sources, we can agree with Professor Scramuzza that Josephus is not particularly to be trusted, that Tacitus is definitely prejudiced against the Julio-Claudians, that Suetonius wrote what

his public wanted to read, and that Cassius Dio could be no more favorable than his anti-Claudian sources. On the other hand, is Pliny the Elder, who is pro-Claudian, not without his faults of judgement? Is it not possible that the fourth-century historians, Eutropius and Sextus Aurelius Victor, were influenced by the favorable position afforded Claudius Gothicus by the dynasty established by Constantine and thus spoke well of the first Claudius, too? Last of all, what value can be attached to the opinions of that notorious plagiarist and scribbler, Orosius?

The state documents upon which Professor Scramuzza bases his pro-Claudian attitude are the letter to the Alexandrians (P. Lond. 1912), two speeches before the senate (*CIL*, XIII, 1668 and *BGU*, 611), and the edict concerning the enfranchisement of the Anauni, Tulliassees, and Sinduni (*CIL*, V, 5050). Presumably, the two speeches before the senate were composed by Claudius, but it is not beyond the realm of possibility that the Alexandrian letter and the enfranchisement edict were composed by imperial secretaries. Thus, here is another case in which the interpretation and evaluation of Claudius and his ability must depend upon the personal opinions held by the individual historian.

The reviewer does not mean to disparage Professor Scramuzza's efforts to present Claudius in a more favorable light. He is undoubtedly on the right track, but many readers of *The Emperor Claudius* will feel that, while the anti-Claudian sources ought to be attacked and discredited (as Professor Scramuzza has done), the pro-Claudian evidence is not abundant enough to dispel a few lingering doubts concerning the emperor's personality and competence in administration. Furthermore, we need to know much more about the imperial freedmen who headed the various departments of the bureaucracy before we can agree that they were dominated by Claudius and followed policies dictated by him. Today chief executives usually receive credit or blame for policies formulated by their subordinates, and there is little reason for supposing that conditions were much different in the Roman imperial period. Too often modern historians have carelessly said, "Vespasian did this," or "Diocletian did that." It is, of course, difficult (and sometimes impossible) to determine what was happening behind the scenes, but the potential influence of imperial bureaucratic heads ought not to be neglected. Professor Scramuzza appreciates the importance of this problem. Nevertheless, in his eagerness to acquit Claudius of the charge that he was dominated by his freedmen, he appears (to the reviewer, at least) to claim too much credit for Claudius as the originator of policies and reforms.

The Emperor Claudius, however, will take its place among the fundamental works on the Julio-Claudian emperors, and it will be read by students of the period with both profit and pleasure.

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Caesars Eintritt in die Geschichte. By HERMANN STRASBURGER. Munich: Neuer Filser Verlag, 1938. Pp. viii+145.

The thesis of this book is that ancient and modern writers have exaggerated the part which Caesar played on the political stage before the year 59; that he was hardly noticed before his aedileship in 65, advanced into prominence when he was elected pontifex maximus in 63, but did not become a power to be reckoned with until the triumvirate was formed; that, in fact, only after his great victories in Gaul did many of his contemporaries recognize his importance. Cicero (see the interesting collection of his rare comments on Caesar's early life, pp. 45 ff.) certainly supports this thesis, though Strasburger concedes that Cicero was probably slower than many others in realizing Caesar's potentialities. The ancient biographical material on Caesar (see the excellent outline, pp. 7-23) was, it is shown, put together by later writers who were disposed to interpret the events of his early life on the basis of his later eminence. This is true both of the tradition friendly to Caesar preserved by Velleius and Plutarch and of the more or less hostile biography of Suetonius. Strasburger's oversimplified explanation of the method by which the biographical material grew up (pp. 72 ff.) is not entirely convincing. Velleius and Plutarch obviously go back to a common source for their details on Caesar's early life, but there is too little in the anonymous *De viris illustribus* to justify Strasburger's inclusion of that work with Suetonius as a representative of another source unfriendly to Caesar. As Strasburger admits, Suetonius draws his material from many sources.

Strasburger will also arouse controversy on his estimate of the value of the tradition that we have. He is inclined to question the evidence for Caesar's early relations with Pompey (pp. 98 ff.) and also with Crassus (pp. 109 ff.). For association with Crassus, Strasburger finds no proof before the year 64, when, according to Asconius, the two men worked together to prevent the election of Cicero to the consulship. The report that Caesar was involved with Crassus in the so-called first conspiracy of Catiline in 66-65 is discredited (pp. 107 ff.); the only source for it, Strasburger notes, is Suetonius' quotation (*Iul.* 9) of a series of hostile writers bent on blackening Caesar's reputation. Proof that Caesar was not involved Strasburger finds in Cicero's lost work, *De consiliis suis*, which he says did not name Caesar. How does he know that? Asconius (p. 83 [Clark]) says that Cicero named Crassus as *auctor*, but Caesar may also have been mentioned as Crassus' ally; as Strasburger points out, Cicero in the same work implicates Caesar in the conspiracy of 63. The letter to Axius quoted by Suetonius certainly suggests Cicero's suspicion; and without the entire letter we cannot decide, as Strasburger does, that Suetonius has read too much into the remark quoted. Strasburger is in general too much disposed to reject stories that are unfriendly to Caesar. Thus he does not believe (p. 118) that in 64 during the trials of those who had taken part in the Sullan proscriptions Caesar "soiled his hands" by absolving Catiline. He discards rather arbitrarily the tradition that Caesar testified at the trial of Clo-

dius in 61 (p. 111). But, although he is not always convincing in his evaluation of sources, Strasburger has some timely warnings against the assumptions of modern scholars. For instance, he points out that there is no ancient evidence to support Caesar's connection with Rullus' agrarian bill of 63.

The last chapter is an interesting estimate of the young Caesar. Loyalty to family, in the view of Strasburger, played a far larger part in the determination of Caesar's course than has been realized; thus Caesar supported the Lex Plotia in order to restore his brother-in-law to Rome, cultivated the memory of Marius out of genuine *pietas*, and attacked the men who had taken part in the Sullan prosecutions out of revenge for personal and family injuries. He did not, Strasburger shows, woo the favor of the masses in the manner described by Plutarch and Dio; his failure to prevent Cicero's election to the consulship in 64, his lack of popular support for the attacks on Catulus in 62, and the unfriendly attitude of the people in theater and comitia in 59 all prove that he had not the personal popularity usually attributed to him. In the discussion of Caesar as a *popularis* Strasburger refers to his forthcoming article on *populares* in Pauly-Wissowa, some of the conclusions of which can be found in his article on *optimates* in Volume XVIII. He holds that modern historians, who have been too ready to attribute a two-party system to Rome, have misunderstood the meaning of *popularis*, and he has promised in clarification a collection of the ancient material on the subject. For Caesar's career the best evidence, Strasburger holds, is not Cicero's unfriendly comment on Caesar's *popularis levitas* in the Fifth Philippic (49) but the respectful remarks in the Fourth Catiline (9) on Caesar's *sententia tamquam obses perpetuae in rem publicam voluntatis*. "Intellectum est," Cicero goes on, "quid interesset inter levitatem contionatorum et animum vere popularem saluti populi consulentem." The aim which Caesar states at the beginning of the Civil War (*BC* i. 22) had, it is argued, been his from youth: "ut se et populum Romanum factione paucorum oppressum in libertatem vindicaret." In his efforts to end the rule of the Sullan oligarchs (*factio paucorum*) who had suppressed the power of the people, Caesar was, Strasburger holds, *popularis*; but in pursuing his aims he had no specific plans either for the destruction of the parliamentary system of which he was a part or for the establishment of personal domination. For himself he was striving for the speediest possible advancement in the *cursus honorum*, and he did not formulate his designs until (in Gaul) "fate placed in his hands the sword of conquest."

LILY ROSS TAYLOR

Bryn Mawr College

The Cults of the Sabine Territory. By ELIZABETH C. EVANS. ("Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome," Vol. XI [1939].) Pp. xvi+254+7 pls.

The Sabine territory, reputed home of the pious King Numa Pompilius, is one of the most important sections of Italy for its religious associations with

Rome; but the archeological records of the region are scant and unsatisfactory in character. The Sabine land has been sparsely populated since ancient times, and it remains in large part virgin soil for the spade of the excavator. We do not know from any systematic excavation in the region whether the inhuming peoples who came to Rome and neighboring cities were the Sabines who, according to legend, united with the Romans. We have no evidence from the Sabine region to show the type of religious organization that the legendary Numa is supposed to have brought from there to Rome.

After a good introductory chapter on the geography, history, linguistics, and archeology of the Sabines, the author proceeds to discuss the local cults of the region, the cults of cities and territories adjacent to the Sabines, and Varro's list of Sabine divinities. There is, unfortunately, too little evidence to secure a clear picture of the local cults of any of the chief cities—Cures, Forum Novum, Trebula Mutuesca, Reate, and Amiternum. Many of the inscriptions which chance has brought to light belong to private and not public worship. Some of the inscriptions discussed have no bearing whatever on local cults. Thus the records of a *frater Arvalis* (p. 38), a *salius Palatinus* (p. 48), a *pontifex Lanvinorum* (p. 111)—all of them in inscriptions of Roman officials—tell us nothing about the Sabines. The fragments of Julian calendars found at Forum Novum (p. 45) and Amiternum (p. 115) have no local significance. Miss Evans is well aware of the inadequacy of her material and, after a detailed discussion of the gods in Varro's list, wisely concludes that that antiquarian, a native of the Sabine Reate, is not necessarily wrong when he attributes Sabine origin to a whole series of gods for whom no local evidence can be found.

Two divinities represented in the inscriptions can be shown to be specifically Sabine—Feronia, known chiefly in this region and in adjacent territory, and Vacuna, attested only for Sabine territory and contiguous sites. The importance of the latter goddess—unlike Feronia, she is not in Varro's list, presumably because she did not come to Rome—is striking, whether or not we agree with Miss Evans that the *aedes Victoriae* of Roccagiovine (p. 141) was in reality a shrine of Vacuna. That seems to me unlikely, in spite of Varro's learned identification of Vacuna and Victoria, for it was not Roman practice to alter cult names.

There is one important temple in the region, a shrine of characteristic Italic type with *alae* or perhaps with three *cellae*. It was found at Villa S. Silvestro near Nursia. Miss Evans has provided excellent photographs of the site, and also plans and an elevation which are the work of Gorham Phillips Stevens. She has also published a good photograph (Pl. III) and a valuable transcription (p. 70) of the famous tithe inscription of Mummius which the editors of *CIL* (cf. I², 632) record as lost. The inscription is in the Palazzo Comunale of Rieti.

LILY ROSS TAYLOR

Bryn Mawr College

HN ΔΙΔΑΣΚΩΝ: *Die periphrastischen Konstruktionen im Griechischen*. By GUDEMUND BJÖRCK. ("Skrifter utgivna av K. Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundet i Uppsala," Vol. XXXII, No. 2.) Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1940. Pp. 139. Kr. 6.

What is periphrase? If I say "I shall go," that is not periphrastic; "I am on the point of departure" would be, but I should not say it, or, worse, "I am just about to begin to commence to start to go." "I was going" is not periphrastic, either for "I went" or for anything else. It is perfectly normal; "I happened to be going" is a periphrastic expansion of the progressive form "I was going." But ἡν διδάσκων is periphrastic, it goes without saying, in classical Greek, which would normally have ἐδίδασκε, but hardly in New Testament Greek, in which the construction abounds. For the New Testament it is a normal, not a roundabout, way of putting it, which one might almost call "paraphrase" with as much reason as "periphrase." Mr. Björck—and well he knows it—only talks the age-old jargon of grammarians when he labels as "periphrastic" certain forms of expression for which the name is, historically intended, doubtless defensible; descriptively, it is misleading if applied to most of the quotations from post-classical Greek with which Mr. Björck has occupied himself. Even in classical Greek he must stop to set aside (chap. i) "falsche Periphrasen" of a kind that could deceive only the most childlike tyro and "adjektivische Periphrasen" (of two kinds, "die Daueradjektivierung" and "die Gelegenheitsadjektivierung"), of which he remarks (p. 28) "dass der ganze Begriff Periphrase hier künstlich ist," so that to true periphrasis he reserves the German name "Umschreibung" (p. 10). It was hardly necessary to labor the point that when a participle has become a full-grown adjective, as πρέπων (cf. πρεπόντως, πρεπώδης)—there is a useful, if incomplete, list of these (pp. 18–20)—or a noun, as commonly in Latin (*sapiens* "philosopher," *amans* "lover," *torrens* "torrent"), the term periphrastic is artificial: *sapiens est* by no means is the same thing as *sapit*, and, after all, even in formal grammar meaning counts for something.

When, therefore, post-classical Greek shows a great increase in the frequency of usage of the present participle with the verb "to be" in the imperfect tense (the progressive "periphrase"), of the aorist participle with εἶναι in the imperfect or optative (the temporal periphrase), and of the present participle with the future of εἶναι (to express the imperfective aspect of the future), we have to recognize the well-known tendency to analysis which appears in all Indo-European languages. Björck, too, recognizes this tendency, but he has not stressed it strongly enough. Different as the substantival periphrase, as well as the adjectival "periphrase," is from these, it also has had a rank growth in Indo-European (cf. Björck, p. 109, and to his references add, for English,¹ H. W. Fowler, *A Dictionary of Modern English Usage*

¹ Since I wrote this review I have read C. A. Bodelsen on the expanded tenses in modern English (*Bull. du Cercle linguistique de Copenhague*, II [1935] 10–11), where a

[Oxford, 1926], pp. 430-31). I am, therefore, somewhat skeptical of the rules that Björck lays down as governing Greek usage of periphrase; his summary statement (p. 96) is much better, for the simple reason that it escapes that refinement of statement, almost to the vanishing-point, to which would-be complete accuracy of statement often is inevitably reduced in describing nuance of usage in speech. This conflict proceeds from the dynamic nature of speech, and the Greek language in all its history has been highly dynamic. Try the experiment; even H. W. Smyth, so he once told me, found the writing of the syntax of his large Greek grammar anything but easy.

The thirty-eight pages of notes come ill after Björck's ninety-six pages of text. For the reader to be constantly shunted back and forth through the pages of a book for all the world like a railroad car on a siding is no help to his comprehension of what the author has written; and the arrangement, or lack of it, usually means that the author has not digested his materials well himself. Apart from these criticisms Mr. Björck may be said to have made a useful contribution to the history of the Greek verbal system.

J. WHATMOUGH

Harvard University

Plato's Law of Slavery in Its Relation to Greek Law. By GLENN R. MORROW. ("Illinois Studies in Language and Literature," Vol. XXV, No. 3.) Urbana, 1939. Pp. 140.

In the present careful and instructive monograph the author examines all provisions in the *Laws* dealing with slavery, seeks to determine the principles underlying them, and then compares them with the positive law of Greece.

The slave in Plato's system has an ambiguous status: he is at once a possession and a rudimentary legal person. Provisions that deal with the slave as property are merely a part of the general law of property. As a legal person he is subject to the law and responsible to it in his own right, is afforded some slight protection, and in his relation to his master is not only a possession but a subject as well. Plato's law of slavery is no product of a philosopher's imagination but rather an adaptation of positive law, particularly that of Athens—a point which the author considers significant in view of the general assumption that Plato was greatly influenced by his admiration for Spartan institutions. Not that he uniformly adheres to the Athenian system; there are many differences, usually, interestingly enough, in the direction of harsher treatment and less protection for the slave. In some of these variations Professor Morrow believes that Plato was looking back to an earlier day in Attica, to the much-desiderated *πατριῶν νόμοι* of a simpler, patriarchal, agrarian community. In other instances, notably the provision that children of unions between

distinction is made between simple tense-forms for (1) the ascertainment of a fact and (2) a statement of universal application, and the expanded forms for describing an actual action.

slave and free shall take the *deterior condicio* and in the servile status of freedmen, Plato is innovating, moved by his concern with preserving the superiority and purity of his citizen class. Even where protection is afforded the slave, as in the religious sanction against *ὑβρις* toward slaves and the greater use of and reward for slave denunciations, he is less interested in the slave as an individual than in his public capacity as an instrument for law enforcement or in the moral effect upon the citizens of ill-treatment of slaves.

Professor Morrow finds no evidence for the theory upheld with varying degrees of assurance by Ritter, Apelt, and Zimmern that Plato at heart disapproved of slavery and tolerated it in his commonwealth as a concession to popular prejudice. The necessary distinction between master and slave is that masters shall rule and slaves obey. He concludes:

Conceiving of ruling as a science, he first drew the implication that qualified rulers should enjoy absolute power, untrammelled by law. But he was led by sad experience to see that qualified rulers are rare, and that law is the only safeguard of justice in human affairs. The primary application of this principle he saw clearly, viz. that political power . . . should always be subject to legal restrictions. But the rule of masters over their slaves is a form of *δεσποτεία*, and here also law is necessary as a safeguard of justice. Unfortunately, Plato failed to make this application of his own principle.

In several instances the author touches upon disputed points of Attic law. He attempts, without much insistence, to rehabilitate the view that a slave could give evidence without torture in homicide cases but returns to the conclusion of Leisi that, even if legal, slave evidence was rarely used and had little effect. Though he undermines the cogency of some of the passages cited by Guggenheim and Bonner and Smith, he goes astray in quoting Antiphon vi. 22-23 against them (p. 87, n. 59), failing to observe that the *δικαστηρίῳ* there mentioned has nothing to do with the homicide trial. Students of this question, Morrow among them, have been more successful in demonstrating the inadmissibility of their opponents' passages than in establishing the validity of their own. The *locus classicus* (Antiphon v. 48) seems still to remain the crux of the problem, and it awaits a definitive interpretation.

The interesting suggestion is made (p. 50) that the paucity of homicide trials is due to the defendants' preferring exile to the disadvantages occasioned by the *πρόρρησις*; but it seems more likely that the reason was the preference of the prosecutors for the simpler and speedier means afforded by such processes as the *ἀπαγωγή*.

In an appendix Professor Morrow demonstrates that there is no material difference in Plato's use of the words *δοῦλος* and *οικέτης* and discusses various meanings of *δουλεία* in that author.

Professor Morrow's monograph is not only a welcome contribution to the field of Greek law but very good reading as well.

JOHN F. CHARLES

Wabash College

Late Geometric Graves and a Seventh Century Well in the Agora. By RODNEY S. YOUNG. (*Hesperia*, Supplement II.) Athens: American School of Classical Studies, 1939. Pp. 250.

This is primarily a study of Attic pottery from 725 to 650 B.C. It is based chiefly on a group of twenty-two graves in a closed precinct, which appear to cover a period of two generations beginning about 725, and on a well containing pottery of about 700-650. The most definite evidence for chronology is derived from Protocorinthian pottery in the well, but Young is careful to consider evidence from all available sources. The discoveries are fully described and catalogued in one hundred and seventy-four pages. Then the pottery is discussed in thirty pages (fabric and technique, shapes, ornament) with some repetition of matter in the catalogue. Shorter sections deal with the terracotta figurines and the graffiti. One appendix contains short lists of Attic vases for each quarter-century from 725 to 600; another contains notes, by J. Lawrence Angel, on the skeletons found.

For late Geometric and early Protoattic pottery this is a work of great importance, and a good deal of light is thrown incidentally on earlier Geometric ware. The chronological conclusions of Schweitzer and others are somewhat revised, and the history of many forms and ornaments is much clarified. Young's method should yield reliable results, and his work appears to be careful and sound. The arrangement is convenient, the illustrations adequate, the style sufficiently good.

To some readers the most interesting part of the book will be the incidental discussion of the celebrated jug with the earliest (or earliest-looking) Greek inscription. Young dates it about 700, rather after than before, and it seems wholly probable that this is right. However, the author is not at his best in his remarks on inscriptions. "Presumably alphabetic inscriptions were not incised before the knowledge had come to Greece of the technique of incision" (p. 198). Incision is scratching—a technique of very wide currency; anybody acquainted with letters should be able to scratch them anywhere without being trained in incision as a means of ceramic decoration; if incised inscriptions and incised ornament appear at the same time, that is only coincidence. "The alphabet used on the oinochoe is not Attic . . . the inscription may have been scratched by a foreigner on a visit to Athens" (p. 229). This suggestion is not susceptible of disproof, but the non-Attic alphabet has little to do with it; the foreigner had to live somewhere, and the inscription is unique. If this inscription had not been found, it would have been supposed that the original Greek alphabet had an "upright" alpha, but in this instance we have the alpha "on its side" and so must suppose that the Phoenician form was taken over in the Greek alphabet. It follows that an entire first period of the alphabet is lost except for one belated example. This is by no means incredible, since the Phoenicians wrote chiefly on perishable materials and the Greeks would follow their example. There is little to suggest how long this

first period was, but it must be added to the time necessary for the development of the local alphabets. Another corollary is that comparisons between Greek and Phoenician inscriptions have limited chronological value.

University of Chicago

F. P. JOHNSON

The Stoic and Epicurean Philosophers: The Complete Extant Writings of Epicurus, Epictetus, Lucretius, Marcus Aurelius. Edited, with an Introduction by WHITNEY J. OATES. New York: Random House, 1940. Pp. xxvi+627. \$3.00.

The order of development in the later Greek schools was skeptics, Epicureans, and Stoics, the dogmatic teachings being a pragmatic reply to skepticism. Zeller reversed this order in his *Stoics, Epicureans and Sceptics*, which accounts for R. D. Hicks's *Stoic and Epicurean*. Mr. Oates now follows suit with *The Stoic and Epicurean Philosophers*, and this without informing his lay readers that no account is taken of Diogenes Laertius on Zeno or of the fragments of such worthies as Cleanthes, Chrysippus, Panaetius, and Posidonius. In ignoring Cicero completely he has again followed Hicks, who found room for Musonius Rufus in his article "Stoics" in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* but could not spare an em for the author of such works as the *De finibus*.

In the text the order is chronological: Epicurus by Cyril Bailey, Lucretius by H. A. J. Munro, Epictetus by P. E. Matheson, and Marcus Aurelius by George Long. In the Appendix are printed Cleanthes' "Hymn to Zeus" from *The Vitality of Paganism* by James Adam and also Matthew Arnold's *An Essay on Marcus Aurelius*. The claim that all four authors have been "brilliantly translated" might be overlooked on the jacket, but it appears in the editor's Preface. To temper this encomium it may be said that a long paragraph on atomic motion (pp. 9-10) is sheer absurdity, taken by Bailey chiefly from Carlo Giussani's *Studi Lucreziani*. I doubt whether any consistently sensible translation of Epicurus has yet been published. Incidentally, it seems a bit chimerical to juxtapose the physical theory of Epicurus and the chapel talks of Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius. In keeping with this, however, is the "General Introduction," which begins with high philosophy and ends with homiletics. This may be astute, if not scholarly; the public likes to think its sermons philosophical. The deep gloom of Marcus Aurelius has long passed for profundity.

The volume is smartly bound and beautifully printed. There are detailed tables of contents and two subject indexes, though not covering Epicureanism, and a brief glossary of names, from which the omission of Cicero and Panaetius is noticeable.

University of Toronto

NORMAN W. DEWITT

M. Tulli Ciceronis De domo sua ad pontifices oratio. Edited with Introduction and Notes by ROBERT G. NISBET. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939. Pp. xlv+232. \$3.00.

For some time English editors have given the *De domo sua* a wide berth. In fact it is almost a century since the world has seen an English annotated edition of this interesting speech. Mr. Nisbet in his Preface rightly attributes this neglect of the oration to its "difficulties, which are painfully numerous, and the steady denigration, in certain quarters, of the four *Post Reditum* speeches." Fully convinced of the historical, syntactical, and oratorical value of the treatise, the editor has produced a worthy sequel to Long's annotated edition published in 1856.

The Introduction covers the following topics: "The Years 63-56 B.C.," "Cicero's Attitude towards Religion," "Analysis of the Speech," and "The Authenticity of the Speech." There is added a "Table of Dates" embracing the period 133-56 B.C., a "Note on the Manuscripts," and a Bibliography.

The text is based upon the Oxford edition of Peterson and is accompanied by a good *apparatus criticus*. The choice of readings is defended in the commentary by reference to works of ancient authors and modern scholars. Seven appendixes and an Index conclude the book.

It is the commentary which distinguishes this from former editions. The notes, which are of generous proportions, reflect Mr. Nisbet's familiarity with the great mass of material which is in any way connected with his subject. The editor brings to this portion of his work a stimulating freshness. His bold interpretations are often a challenge to the incompleteness of the grammars and dictionaries. The orthodox grammarian may wince and the lexicographer shudder as this militant Ciceronian disciple buttresses his exposition by the citation of many parallel passages from ancient authors and a searching analysis of the views of more recent writers. Mr. Nisbet has also breached the ramparts of modern scholarship in general. His shafts are usually aimed with telling effect, especially at Wolf, in whose contentions he sees "little force." On controversial questions he frequently follows the Tacitean practice of leaving the point of dispute *in medio*.

There are a few viewpoints to which the meticulous critic will take exception. For example, in the Introduction the editor states (p. xi) that Pompey "had helped to overthrow the Sullan constitution." This observation is somewhat sweeping. Although the supremacy of the senate was taken away by Pompey and Crassus, there were significant features of the Sullan constitution which long survived these two temporary supporters of the democratic cause. Again, in the text (§ 75) there appears to be no good reason for rejecting the manuscript reading *essem* in favor of *esset*, the proposed reading of Faërnus. Other points of difference are, for the most part, of minor importance.

Mr. Nisbet has gone far toward surmounting the numerous difficulties which beset the path of the prospective editor of the *De domo sua*. Moreover,

the vitality and the thoroughness which mark his discussions should give this oration a new lease on life. The usefulness of this edition will undoubtedly enhance the popularity of the speech with all lovers of Cicero and with classicists in general.

MARS M. WESTINGTON

Hanover College

The Roman Art of War under the Republic. By F. E. ADCOCK. ("Martin Classical Lectures," Vol. VIII.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940. Pp. 140. \$2.00.

In this little volume the distinguished author, professor of ancient history at Cambridge University, well-known for his work as an editor of and contributor to *The Cambridge Ancient History*, has reviewed the subject indicated in the title in five extremely brief and elementary lectures. They contain little, except a sprinkling of quotations from modern writers on military science, that the average professor of Roman history should not be able to give from memory or at least at short notice; the brevity of the treatment often results in dogmatic judgments not properly justified; and there are signs of careless composition, for instance in the sentence: "Highly skilled professional soldiers have sometimes not seen beyond their noses, even if these are as long as Wellington's" (pp. 120-21). Nevertheless, the book will prove decidedly useful as an introduction to the subject. In addition, the author's treatment of various problems often is very acute and well worth thoughtful consideration by scholars.

J. A. O. LARSEN

University of Chicago

Tragedy of Destiny: Oedipus Tyrannus, Macbeth, Athalie. By EDWIN EVERITT WILLIAMS. Cambridge: Editions XVII Siècle, 1940. Pp. 35. \$1.50.

This is a little book about what the author calls tragedy of destiny, and as representations of the genus he chooses one Greek, one English, and one French play. In summing up the results of his observations the author says: "In each tragedy a strongly unified action is centered in the fulfilment of a prophecy that influences the actions of the protagonist in such a way that he precipitates the accomplishment of the prediction he wishes to avert." This theme he has illustrated by a comparison of the plots of the three plays and the parts played respectively by Loxias' original prophecy, the witches' prediction, and the role of fate in *Athalie*. The reader may be rather disturbed by the want of any significant or interesting conclusions throughout the study.

DAVID GRENE

University of Chicago

BOOKS RECEIVED

[Not all works submitted can be reviewed, but those that are sent to the editorial office for notice are regularly listed under "Books Received." Books submitted are not returnable.]

- ALLEN, JAMES TURNER. *On the Odeum of Pericles and the Periclean Reconstruction of the Theater*. ("University of California Publications in Classical Archaeology," I, No. 7, 173-78.) Berkeley: University of California Press, 1941. \$0.25.
- CARMODY, FRANCIS J. (ed.). *Physiologus Latinus: versio Y*. ("University of California Publications in Classical Philology," XII, No. 7, 95-134.) Berkeley: University of California Press, 1941. \$0.35.
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- GLICK, MARY KATHRYN. *Studies in Colloquial Exaggeration in Roman Comedy*. (Diss., University of Chicago, 1938.) Private edition, distributed by the University of Chicago Libraries, Chicago, Ill., 1941. Pp. iii+140.
- GULICK, CHARLES BURTON (trans.). *Athenaeus: The Deipnosophists*. In 7 vols. Vol. VII. ("Loeb Classical Library.") Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: William Heinemann, Ltd., 1941. Pp. xii+581.
- HARTKE, WERNER. *Geschichte und Politik im spätantiken Rom: Untersuchungen über die Scriptores Historiae Augustae*. (Klio, Beiheft 45 [N.F., Beiheft 32].) Leipzig: Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1940. Pp. vi+172. Broschiert, Rm. 15.50.
- Hermathena*, No. LVII, May, 1941. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis & Co.; London: Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd., 1941. 3s.
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INDEX TO VOLUME XXXVI

- Achilles, his sword **60**
 Agrippa Postumus, biography **30**
 -aios, Greek adjectives in **356**
 anakrisis, in Athenian litigation **182**
 announcement of plan for temporary
 exchange of positions by professors of
 classics **66**
 Apollo, *Σμυθεύς* **133**
 apophoreta, in Petronius and Martial
346
 apotheosis. *See* Caesar
 Arrian, *Discourses of Epictetus* iv. 5.
 17, discussed **398**
 Attic orators, historical allusions in **209**
 Book Reviews:
 Adcock: *The Roman Art of War*
under the Republic (Larsen) **422**
 Allan (ed.): *Plato: Republic, Book I*
 (Greene) **317**
 Aymard: *Les Assemblées de la Con-*
fédération achaienne: étude critique
d'institutions et d'histoire (Larsen)
406
 ———: *Les premiers rapports de*
Rome et de la Confédération achai-
enne (198-189 avant J.-C.) (Lar-
sen) **406**
 Bataille, et al. (eds.): *Les Papyrus*
Fouad I (Westermann) **400**
 Bates: *Sophocles: Poet and Drama-*
tist (Smith) **200**
 Bigott: *Die Komposition der Andria*
des Terenz (Hough) **312**
 Björck: HN ΔΙΔΑΣΚΩΝ: *Die peri-*
phrastischen Konstruktionen im
Griechischen (Whatmough) **416**
 Blake (trans.): *Chariton's Chaereas*
and Callirhoe (Durham) **96**
 Bolkestein: *Wohltätigkeit und Armen-*
pflege im vorchristlichen Altertum:
Ein Beitrag zum Problem Moral
und Gesellschaft (†Trever) **82**
 Buckler and Calder (eds.): *Monu-*
menta Asiae Minoris antiquae,
Vol. VI: Monuments and Docu-
ments from Phrygia and Caria
(Larsen) **88**
 Calder and Keil (eds.): *Anatolian*
Studies Presented to William Hep-
burn Buckler (Broughton) **285**
 Calza: *La Necropoli del porto di*
Roma nell'Isola Sacra (Van Buren)
67
 Charanis: *Church and State in the*
Later Roman Empire (Spinka) **102**
 Conferenze augustee nel bimillenario
 della nascita (Scramuzza) **205**
 Cook et al. (eds.): *The Cambridge An-*
cient History, Vol. XII: The Im-
perial Crisis and Recovery, A.D.
193-324 (Larsen) **295**
 Daly and Suchier: *Altercatio Ha-*
driani Augusti et Epicteti philosophi
(Gamer) **98**
 Deferrari et al.: *A Concordance of*
Lucan (Bruère) **304**
 Delcourt: *Stérilités mystérieuses et*
naissances maléfiques dans l'an-
tiquité classique (McCartney) **79**
 Denniston (ed.): *Euripides' "Elec-*
tra" (Dunkel) **107**
 Duckworth (ed.): *T. Macci Plauti*
Epilicis, Edited with Critical Ap-
paratus and Commentary, in Which
Is Included the Work of the Late
Arthur L. Wheeler (Prescott) **281**
 Evans: *The Culls of the Sabine Terri-*
tory (Taylor) **414**
 Farrington: *Science and Politics in*
the Ancient World (Greene) **201**
 Frank (ed.): *An Economic Survey of*
Ancient Rome, Vol. V: Rome and
Italy of the Empire; General Index
to Volumes I-V (Cary) **70**

Book Reviews—continued

- Gilbert: *Literary Criticism: Plato to Dryden* (Godolphin) **315**
- Göhler: *Rom und Italien: Die römische Bundesgenossenpolitik von den Anfängen bis zum Bundesgenossenkrieg* (Hammond) **92**
- Greene (ed.): *Scholia Platonica* (Oldfather) **371**
- Haarhoff: *The Stranger at the Gate: Aspects of Exclusiveness and Cooperation in Ancient Greece and Rome, with Some Reference to Modern Times* (Diller) **108**
- Haight: *The Roman Use of Anecdotes in Cicero, Livy, and the Satirists* (McCartney) **291**
- Hubaux and Leroy: *Le Mythe du phénix dans les littératures grecque et latine* (Pease) **91**
- Hubert (ed.): *Plutarchi Moralia*, Vol. IV (Helmbold) **85**
- Laidlaw: *The Prosody of Terence: A Relational Study* (Harsh) **199**
- Lejeune: *Observations sur la langue des actes d'affranchissement déphiques* (Whatmough) **311**
- Levy: *A Latin Reader for Colleges* (Amyx) **204**
- Lucas: *A Greek Garland: A Selection from the Palatine Anthology* (Lind) **109**
- Lutz (ed.): *Johannis Scoti: Annotationes in Marcianum* (Bigongiari) **72**
- McEuen: *The Classical Influence on the Tribe of Ben* (Peterkin) **309**
- McPeck: *Catullus in Strange and Distant Britain* (Coulter) **193**
- Mahr: *The Origin of the Greek Tragic Form: A Study of the Early Theater in Attica* (Dunkel) **202**
- Marella: *Ricerche e studi sulla scultura greca del sec. IV*, Part I: *Un Tipo apollineo* (Johnson) **203**
- Mendner: *Der Text der Metamorphosen Ovids* (Bruère) **402**
- Molt (ed.): *Ad Apulei Madaurensis Metamorphoseon librum primum commentarius exegeticus* (Perry) **308**
- Morrow: *Plato's Law of Slavery in Its Relation to Greek Law* (Charles) **417**
- Nisbet (ed.): *M. Tulli Ciceronis De domo sua ad pontifices oratio* (Westington) **421**
- Oates (ed.): *The Stoic and Epicurean Philosophers* (DeWitt) **420**
- Oldfather, Canter, and Abbott: *Index verborum Ciceronis epistularum* (Bruère) **195**
- Owen (ed.): *The Year's Work in Classical Studies, 1939* (Larsen) **318**
- Pearson: *Early Ionian Historians* (Swain) **89**
- Philippson: *Griechische Gottheiten in ihren Landschaften* (Roebuck) **313**
- Pratt: *Dramatic Suspense in Seneca and in His Greek Precursors* (Braginton) **105**
- Prentice: *The Ancient Greeks* (Smith) **288**
- Radin: *Marcus Brutus* (Laing) **300**
- Robinson and Freeman: *Corpus vasorum antiquorum: The Robinson Collection, Baltimore, Maryland, Fasc. III* (Johnson) **316**
- Rolfe (trans.): *Ammianus Marcellinus*, Vols. II and III (Clark) **94**
- Sas: *The Noun Declension in Merovingian Latin* (Skiles) **197**
- Seramuzza: *The Emperor Claudius* (Jones) **411**
- Seltman (ed.): *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Volume of Plates V (Larsen) **295**
- Shaw: *Etruscan Perugia* (Taylor) **206**
- Siebert: *Die Syntax der Tempora und Modi der ältesten lateinischen Inschriften* (Whatmough) **95**
- Stam (ed. and trans.): *Prudentius, Hamartigenia: With Introduction, Translation, and Commentary* (Sanford) **297**

- Stevenson: *Roman Provincial Administration till the Age of the Antonines* (Gwatkin) **306**
- Strasburger: *Caesars Eintritt in die Geschichte* (Taylor) **413**
- Sturtevant: *The Pronunciation of Greek and Latin*² (Whatmough) **409**
- Talcott and Frantz (eds.): *This Is Greece* (Roebuck) **317**
- Vandvik: *Rhythmus und Metrum: Akzent und Iktus* (Harsh) **301**
- Walz: *Der Lysianische Epitaphios* (Dorjahn) **100**
- Webster: *Greek Art and Literature, 530-400 B.C.* (Robinson) **191**
- Wilcox: *The Destructive Hypothetical Syllogism in Greek Logic and in Attic Oratory* (Murphy) **103**
- Williams: *Tragedy of Destiny: Oedipus Tyrannus, Macbeth, Athalia* (Greene) **422**
- Young: *Late Geometric Graves and a Seventh Century Well in the Agora* (Johnson) **419**
- Ziegler: *Plutarchi Vitae*, Vol. IV, No. 2, Indices (Helmhold) **110**
- books received **111, 207, 319, 423**
- Caesar, apotheosis of **257**; his early career **113**
- corruptus-corruptus* **240**
- corruciare*, etymology **244**
- corruptiare* **244**
- corruptus-corruptus* **240**
- Delos, price of tiles at **156**; see also *Inscriptions de Délos*
- Egypt, veterans in **21**
- Epictetus, and Nero's coinage **398**
- Epicurus, *Epistle to Herodotus* 46-47, 62, discussed **365**
- Gelon of Syracuse. See Herodotus vii. 162
- Giants, their battle with the gods **52**
- Gigantomachies **52**
- glosses. See Vacca
- Greek gods, their battle with giants **52**
- Greek language. See -aios
- Greek orators. See Attic orators
- Hannibal, his elephant **189**
- Herodotus vii. 162, discussion of **321**; his relation to Pericles **321**
- Homer *Iliad* i. 219, discussed **60**; *Odyssey*, the Ithacan cave **57**; *Odyssey*, repeated narratives in **167**; ancient commentaries **187**. See also *Odysseus*
- Ἰχθύες Χορεύει **142**
- Inscriptions de Délos*, 365, discussed **161**; 366 A, discussed **161**; 440 A, discussed **159**
- Ithaca, the cave **57**
- Iulium sidus*. See "*sidus Iulium*"
- Juvenal xiv. 227-32, discussed **278**
- kinetics, Epicurean **365**
- Latin syntax. See Sallust
- lecythizing **46**
- λήκυθος and its compounds, figurative uses **46**
- Leptis, oil tribute of **246**
- Library of Congress, microfilm service **280**
- Lucan. See Vacca
- Martial, *apophoreta* in **346**
- Menander *Epitrepontes* 1-5 (Körte³), discussed **396**; *Samia*, date of **397**
- monstrosities, human, modern parallels to ancient tales of **390**
- Odysseus, his livestock **273**
- oil. See Leptis
- P. Aberdeen 61 **63**
- P. Fouad I 21 **21**
- P. Yale Inv. 1528 **21**
- Pericles, relation to Herodotus **321**
- Petronius, *Satyricon* 3. 2, discussed **274**; 9. 2, discussed **275**; 9. 8, discussed **275**; *apophoreta* in **346**
- Petrus Diaconus, librarian of Monte Cassino **185**
- Phoenicians, their name discussed **1**

- Pindar, *Olympian* vi. 82-88, discussed **394**
- Plato, *Phaedrus* 245a, discussed **51, 190**;
Timaeus, C. Ritter on **188**; *scholia* **371**
- Plautus, *Pseudolus* 1218-21, discussed **189**
- Plotinus, *On Eternity and Time* iii. 7. 6, discussed **230**
- Proteas, Homeric commentary **187**
- rapio*, compounds of **240**
- Sallust, syntax **280**
- scholia*. See Plato
- Seneca, *De ben.* ii. 18. 5, discussed **276**;
Ep. 41. 3, discussed **277**; 85. 29, discussed **277**
- sidus Iulium* **267**
- Tacitus, *Agricola*, manuscripts **185**;
Dialogus 20. 10, discussed **240**
- Theocritus xxv. 276-77, discussed **65**
- tiles, price at Delos **156**
- Tuscius, the prefect **21**
- Vacca, commentary on Lucan, glosses from **64**
- veterans, in Egypt **21**

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VOL. XXXVI

CONTENTS FOR OCTOBER 1941

No. 4

Herodotus, Gelon, and Pericles	P. Treves	321
Apophoreta in Petronius and Martial	B. L. Ullman	346
Greek Adjectives in -aios from Indo-European -ahyos	Edgar H. Sturtevant	356
Epicurean Kinetics	Norman W. DeWitt	365
Scholia Platonica	W. A. Oldfather	371
Notes and Discussions		390

EUGENE S. MCCARTNEY: Modern Analogues to Ancient Tales of Monstrous Races.—GILBERT NORWOOD: Pindar *Olympian* vi. 82-88.—WARREN E. BLAKE: Two Notes on Menander.—THOMAS OLLIVE MABBOTT: Epictetus and Nero's Coinage.—T. J. HAARHOFF: A Reply.

Book Reviews		400
------------------------	--	-----

A. BATAILLE et al. (eds.): *Les Papyrus Fouad I* (Westermann).—SIEGFRIED MENDNER: *Der Text der Metamorphosen Ovids* (Brüner).—ANDRÉ AYMAR: *Les Assemblées de la Confédération achéenne: étude critique d'institutions et d'histoire; Les premiers rapports de Rome et de la Confédération achéenne (198-189 avant J.-C.)* (Larsen).—EDGAR H. STURTEVANT: *The Pronunciation of Greek and Latin* (Whatmough).—VINCENT M. SCHARUZZA: *The Emperor Claudius* (Jones).—HERMANN STRASSBURGER: *Caesars Eintritt in die Geschichte* (Taylor).—ELIZABETH C. EVANS: *The Cults of the Sabine Territory* (Taylor).—GUDMUND BÜCK: *HN ΔΙΑΕΚΚΩΝ: Die periphrastischen Konstruktionen im Griechischen* (Whatmough).—GLEN R. MORROW: *Plato's Law of Slavery in Its Relation to Greek Law* (Charles).—RODNEY S. YOUNG: *Late Geometric Graves and a Seventh Century Well in the Agora* (Johnson).—WHITNEY J. OATES (ed.): *The Stoic and Epicurean Philosophers: The Complete Extant Writings of Epicurus, Epictetus, Lucretius, Marcus Aurelius* (DeWitt).—ROBERT G. NISBET (ed.): *M. Tulli Ciceronis De domo sua ad pontifices oratio* (Westington).—F. E. ADCOCK: *The Roman Art of War under the Republic* (Larsen).—EDWIN EVERETT WILLIAMS: *Tragedy of Destiny: Oedipus Tyrannus, Macbeth, Athalia* (Grene).

Books Received		423
Index to Volume XXXVI		425

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